The Outlook

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Cleveland, Ohio THE CITY OF BANKS

THE city of Cleveland is a progressive industrial and trading center of diversified interests and the greatest marine port on the Great Lakes. Andrew Carnegie recently stated that Cleveland is the future home of the iron and steel industry of the United States, for the reason that at this point iron ore and coal meet most economically. About four per cent. of the total savings deposits of the American people is deposited in the savings banks of Cleveland, while its population is only one-half of one per cent. of that of the entire country.

In every respect Cleveland's banks have outstripped those of other cities of like size and commercial importance. Their gains in resources have been remarkable. Their deposits have increased much faster than the population, great as the general growth of the city has been. It has won recognition far and wide as a banking center, its business undertakings having been aided greatly by the strength of its financial institutions. Enterprise and prudence have gone hand in hand, and the banks are as safe as they are ambitious and alert for business.

By reason of the extensive manufacturing interests of Cleveland and the consequent active demand for money, its savings banks have always been enabled to safely pay interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, compounded semi-annually. It is a surprising fact that money deposited under these terms in a savings bank will double itself in seventeen years and eight months, and the depositor who avails himself of this four per cent. interest rate paid by the Cleveland banks will receive an actual increase in income of 33⅓ per cent. over money placed in some other city at three per cent.

In the Citizens Savings & Trust Company, Cleveland possesses the largest and oldest trust company in Ohio and one of the best known financial institutions in the country. It was established in 1868 and has shown a steady and continuous growth ever since. In 1870 its deposits were $734,235.02; in 1890 they had grown to $5,788,598.08; in 1900 to $8,900,885.41; in 1903 to $27,144,226 23, and in 1905 to $35,808,833.78. The paid-up capital and surplus of the bank amount to Six Million Dollars, while its total resources aggregate over Forty-two Million Dollars, an increase of five and one-half millions during the past year.

The bank has always had the advice of the foremost business men of the city, who have invariably been found upon its board of directors. From 1878 to 1881 President Garfield was one of the board. Secretary of State John Hay was one of its members from 1883 to 1893, and Jeptha H. Wade, to whom credit largely belongs for the success of the Western Union Telegraph Company, served as a director from 1868 until 1890. Ex-U. S. Senator Henry B. Payne and other men of foremost standing have from time to time belonged to its board of directors, and it may be truly said that the men who have shaped the affairs of the Citizens Savings & Trust Company have combined the best business brains of Ohio's greatest city.

The present Board of Directors and Executive Committee consist of the following: Horace E. Andrews, who is President of The Cleveland Electric Railway Company; C. W. Bingham, President of The Standard Tool Company; T. W. Burnham, President of The Star Elevator Company; Alvah S. Chisholm, of The American Steel & Wire Company; H. B. Corner, Vice-President; G. A. Garrettson, President of Bank of Commerce, N. A.; Thomas S. Grasselli, Vice-President of The Grasselli Chemical Company; E. V. Hale, Treasurer; Kaufman Hays, Vice-President of The Cleveland Worsted Mills; J. H. Hoyt, Attorney; Ralph T. King, Capitalist; Bascom Little, Capitalist; M. B. Johnson, Attorney; D. Leuty, Vice-President; Samuel Mather, of Pickands, Mather & Company; Wm. G. Mather, President of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company; H. R. Newcomb, President; D. Z. Norton, of Oglebay, Norton & Co.; J. R. Nutt, Secretary; James Parmelee, President of the National Carbon Company; James Speyer, of Speyer & Co., Bankers; Andrew Squire, Attorney; N. O. Stone, Vice-President of the Cleveland National Bank; and J. H. Wade, Chairman.

Aside from its strong financial condition and the standing of its board of directors, there are two features which make this institution an exceptionally safe one; 1st, it does not loan money on endorsed or commercial paper, its funds being loaned only on the best collateral or real estate securities having a market value largely in excess of the loan; 2d, it has an auditing department consisting of an auditor and several assistants who carefully examine every loan made and who systematically check up each employee of the institution, thus making a defalcation an impossibility.

Cleveland's handsome office structure known as the Citizens Building is owned by The Citizens Savings & Trust Company, and the ground floor is occupied by the bank. In every detail, from the inspiringly beautiful decorations and furnishings to the impregnable vaults of steel, the offices of the bank are among the finest in the country.

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1906

❀

The Railway Rate Bill Amendments

As we go to press it is unofficially reported that the Republican Senators have agreed upon the following amendment to the Hepburn Railway Rate Regulation Bill:

> The venue of suits brought in any of the circuit courts of the United States against the Inter-State Commerce Commission to enjoin, set aside, annul, or suspend any order or requirement of the Commission shall be in the district where the carrier against whom such order or requirement may have been made has its principal operating office, and jurisdiction to hear and determine such suit is hereby vested in such courts.

It can hardly be necessary to say to the thoughtful reader that this amendment makes no real change in the Hepburn Bill. The Federal courts have jurisdiction already to prevent any injustice from being perpetrated by or in the name of any administrative department of the Government upon any citizen of the United States. This jurisdiction is continually exercised in hearing appeals by citizens against what they regard as unjust decisions by the Patent Office, the Land Office, the Collector of Customs, and other administrative departments. It is true that Congress has the power—this at least is our judgment—to limit this jurisdiction of the courts, and certain amendments proposed to the Hepburn Bill would have the effect to impose such limitation upon the Circuit Courts. Such was the amendment proposed by Senator Bailey, prohibiting them from issuing injunctions against the immediate enforcement of the decisions of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. But in the absence of such amendment the jurisdiction to issue such injunctions is indubitable. The amendment as proposed simply declares powers which are already unquestionably possessed. Why, then, any such amendment? The reason for it was probably political. It was clear that the hard fight in the Senate against the Hepburn Bill in its original form by certain Republicans who represented, or thought they represented, corporate interests, would be defeated by a union of Democratic and Republican votes for the bill, and that no amendment having the effect to limit or delay the powers of the Commission could be carried against the combined Democratic and Republican support. The Republican advocates of the bill, by consenting to this declarative amendment, have made it possible for the Republican opponents of the bill to vote for it without self-stultification, and thus have secured before the people for the Republican party credit for the bill which otherwise might, with some justice, have been claimed in the next political campaign by the Democrats as a Democratic victory over Republican opposition. The bill is not, however, at this writing, passed, and there is still a possibility, perhaps a probability, that some of the amendments offered for the purpose of limiting dilatory proceedings in the courts may yet be attached to the bill by a majority composed of combined Democratic and Republican votes. The President's Message on the Standard Oil investigation gave such an impetus to the Lodge amendment, bringing the pipe lines under the regulative powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, that it passed the Senate unanimously.

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The President's Message

On last Saturday President Roosevelt sent a special Message to Congress dealing almost exclusively with the Standard Oil Company. The Message accompanied a Summary of a report by the Hon. James R. Garfield, the Commis-

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sioner of the Bureau of Corporations, on the oil industry of the country. The investigation conducted by Mr. Garfield, of which his report and the President's Message are the first fruits, was undertaken in accordance with a resolution of Congress passed February 15, 1905. The Garfield report "is of capital importance," says the President, in view of the effort now being made to regulate railway rates. The President asserts that the Standard Oil Company "has benefited enormously up almost to the present moment by secret rates, many of these secret rates being clearly unlawful." He points out the significance of the fact that the railroads corrected many of these secret rates as soon as they were discovered by the Commissioner of Corporations. "This immediate correction, partial or complete, of the evil of secret rates is, of course, on the one hand, an acknowledgment that they were wrong, and yet were persevered in until exposed; and, on the other hand, a proof of the efficiency of the work that has been done by the Bureau of Corporations." The President promises that the Government will immediately consider the question of instituting prosecutions against the offenders disclosed by the investigation. He calls attention to the fact that the Standard Oil Company is not the only great corporation "which has benefited, and is at this moment benefiting, in a wholly improper fashion, by an elaborate series of rate discriminations." The Sugar Trust and the New York Central Railroad are corporations which are specifically named in the Message as offenders. For the unjust and pernicious industrial and commercial conditions disclosed by the investigation the President proposes these remedies: First, confer upon the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to take quick and effective action in regulating railroad rates. Second, permit the railroads to combine, under conditions prescribed by Congress, in order to protect themselves, their stockholders, and the public against the favors and discriminations demanded and sometimes extorted by the trusts. Third, empower the Government by its agents to examine into the conduct and affairs of the railways as thoroughly and specifically as the bank examiners now examine into the affairs of National banks. Fourth, where a great industrial monopoly "by unfair or unlawful methods has crushed out home competition," revive that competition by some such law "as that which has already passed the House putting alcohol used in the arts and manufactures in the free list." Fifth, provide that all coal and oil land now held by the Government as public domain or as Indian territory shall not be sold, but shall be permanently retained by the Government; this land "should be leased only on such terms and for such periods as will enable the Government to keep entire control thereof." The Outlook has long stood for the economic and industrial principles upon which these specific legislative remedies are based, and regards their public and official espousal by the President as of profound importance to the country. We discuss the Message, its genesis and its industrial, economic, and political effect, more fully in another column.

❀

The Garfield Report

In 1904 there had been special discontent with the conditions controlling the distribution and transportation of oil in and beyond Kansas, and the Congressional resolution to which reference has been made directed particular attention to that State. While this has been taken account of in the investigation carried on by the Bureau of Corporations, its report is not exclusively upon any special field; such a report would be unfair because purely local conditions do not determine the price of crude oil or of its products or afford a proper basis for understanding the conditions of that industry. Therefore the scope of the Garfield investigation included the crude oil production of the United States, its relation to the world's supply, the prices and methods of purchase; the use, development, and control of pipe lines; the refining of oil; the organization, ownership, and relation of the companies engaged in the production, manufacture, and distribution of oil. Special interest was developed from the

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facts regarding distribution, obtained by the examination of thousands of entries in railway records. Upon this particular subject of distribution a Summary of Mr. Garfield's report, together with his letter of submittal to the President, was published last week, to be followed later by publication of the general report. About nine-tenths of the manufacture of refined oil is controlled by the Standard Oil Company. Its largest refineries are located at the great centers of distribution, which are connected by pipe lines with the crude oil fields. The independent refineries are generally located at the oil fields, a disadvantage which has been, says Mr. Garfield, greatly increased by secret discrimination in railway freight rates, inter-State and State, favoring the Standard Oil Company, thus giving to it monopolistic control in the greater portion of the country. Among the railway companies implicated in the report are the Pennsylvania, New York Central, New York, New Haven, and Hartford, Illinois Central, Southern, Chicago, and Alton, Chicago and Eastern Illinois, and Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy. The limitation of the competitive area by this railway discrimination has so greatly increased the Standard's control that, after deducting the freight rate, the prices of ordinary illuminating oil are, it is claimed, usually from two to five cents a gallon higher in the non-competitive than in the competitive fields. The report declares that through secret rates the Standard saved, during 1904, about three-quarters of a million dollars—a sum representing the difference between published and secret rates. This practically unassailable control of the oil market, however, is due not only to secret but to open arrangement of rates, says the report, especially because of the absence of prorating arrangements in New England; to unjust classifications and rules of shipment, and finally to discriminations in the treatment of private tank cars. Through its pipe lines and fleets of oil-carrying vessels the Standard is an active and powerful competitor of the railways themselves; indeed, except in the Texas and California fields, it has already taken the transportation of crude oil almost entirely away from the rail carriers. Hence it might have been expected that the railways would seek to build up the development of independent oil enterprises, which, necessarily relying on rail transportation only, would have furnished traffic. Instead, however, the natural disadvantages of the independent producers and shippers have been enormously increased by the action of the railways in granting discriminations, forced by a greater power than any railway corporation—the Standard Oil Company. The Summary of the Garfield report now made public and outlined above indicates that the full report will contain detailed charges supported by evidence which cannot be satisfactorily answered by mere general denials.

❀

The Standard Oil Company's Defense

An official reply, however, was at once made by the Standard Oil Company to the Garfield Summary. In its nature it is in part a general denial of the charges, in part a refusal to admit jurisdiction. The report, says the reply, is "absolutely unfair and unjust;" moreover, the common charge that the Company's business "has been built up by railroad favoritism is ridiculous and false." This investigation grew out of the Kansas oil field dispute, yet the assertion is made that Mr. Garfield refused to include and make public the facts about Kansas, although importuned to do so by the Company, which declares that its conduct in Kansas was lawful and just and was held so to be by the courts. Coming to the charges of discrimination, the reply points out that many of the cases cited by Mr. Garfield relate to rate-making within State territory, and that neither the Bureau of Commerce and Labor nor the Inter-State Commerce Commission has any control whatever over rates unless they relate to inter-State commerce. With regard to such charges as that the Standard Oil Company has had a monopoly in the New England territory because the railways there have refused to prorate, it is said that if this is so the railways and not the Company would seem to be blamable, and that in point of fact the railroads are obliged to

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contend with freight-carrying over Long Island Sound. In short, "the New England roads believe they can make more money by a refusal to prorate, and if in so doing they are violating the proprieties, clearly they and not the Standard Oil Company should be made the object of attack." Denial is made flatly and in the broadest terms that secret or unlawful rates are obtained by the Standard Oil Company from the railways. Mr. Garfield, it is said, admits that no rebates in the technical sense on inter-State business were discovered after an exhaustive examination. The secret rates alleged by Mr. Garfield to exist are declared not to have been secret at all and not to involve unlawful discrimination, while the Company's attorneys comment caustically on Mr. Garfield's phrase, "Of course there may be other secret rates which the Commission has not discovered," as being "hardly fair or manly." An extended argument is made on the question of pipe lines to the effect that the Company, having constructed these pipe lines at great cost, is entitled to the advantage given to it by the existence of the lines—an advantage which, the Company seems to imply, Mr. Garfield and the President would deny it. The Company says: "Are we to have no advantage because we constructed these pipe lines? Is the amount invested and the interest on that investment to count for nothing?" The point is illustrated by an analogy as follows: "Take two men going to Boston; one uses an eight-thousand-dollar automobile to go to New London, and there takes the train. Is he to have no advantage in rate over the man who leaves New York and travels all the way by rail?" The pipe lines, instead of being built by the Company by special agreement with the railway companies, as alleged by Mr. Garfield, were, it is said, made in the face of violent opposition by the railways. It is claimed that the so-called secret rates have been filed with the Inter-State Commerce Commission as the law requires, and that this is shown by Mr. Garfield's own report. As to the use of private cars, it is said that in the oil business the movement is so slow that private tank-car owners do not make excessive profits. In answer to the objection brought against making a through rate by combining two separate State rates, thus violating the spirit of the law though observing its letter, it is said that the Inter-State Commerce Commission has itself held this practice to be lawful and proper. Finally, the fullest investigation is courted, and the assertion is made that "the statement that the 'Standard Oil Company has largely by unfair and unlawful methods crushed out home competition' is fully answered by the fact that home competition has always existed, is steadily growing, and that there are now at least 125 competitive refineries in the United States." The very fact that the Standard Oil Company replies officially with such promptness and fullness to these charges shows a marked change of attitude toward the public and the law; and in itself proves the seriousness with which Mr. Garfield's charges are to be taken. Whatever may be said respecting the issues of fact involved in the Standard Oil Company's published defense, that defense emphasizes the justice of the public demand, voiced by the President in his Message, for Governmental examination, Governmental report, and Governmental supervision of the entire conduct and affairs of the great inter-State corporations.

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Resumption of Anthracite Mining

An early return to their accustomed employment by the 150,000 anthracite coal mine workers after a suspension of nearly six weeks is forecast at this writing by the action of the Scranton Convention in accepting the proposition of the operators for a continuance of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This Convention of more than five hundred duly elected representatives of the mine employees assembled at Scranton, Pennsylvania, on May 3, and on the third day of its session, after accepting the report of its Scale Committee, adjourned until May 8 to hear a final report as to the success of further negotiations which the Committee was authorized to complete with representatives of the operators. Following a brief account of the pre-

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vious negotiations carried on by the mine workers' committee with the operators and their rejection by the latter, the report of the Scale Committee adopted by the Convention provides for a resumption of work by the anthracite employees on the basis of the award of the Coal Strike Commission for such period of time as may be agreed upon mutually between representatives of the employers and employees, but on the condition that those who suspended work on April 1, or since that time, or who have been dismissed because they stated that they would refuse to work if a strike were declared, are reinstated in their former positions and working places. The Scale Committee was authorized to proceed at once to secure an agreement with the coal-mining companies on this basis, the suspension of work to continue until such an agreement had been made and its terms approved by the Convention, for the latter purpose an adjournment being taken to the following Tuesday. This proposition of the operators—that is, to continue the Commission's award of 1903—was chosen in place of the alternative of submitting to at least a majority of the Commission the question whether any changes in the conditions of the anthracite industry have occurred since the award of the Commission in 1903 which require that the award should be modified as to wages of the employees, or the adjustment of complaints through the Conciliation Board or otherwise. The real reason why the operators' arbitration proposition was not regarded favorably by the Convention is to be found in the fact that it made possible a reduction of the earnings of the more important class of mine workers—the contract miners—without any assurance of an increase for the other groups of employees. Since the strike of 1902 the activity at the mines has given unusually steady employment to the contract miners, and has enabled this group to earn exceptionally high wages. As the contract miners make up the dominant group among the mine employees, any reduction in their wages would have meant disaster to the United Mine Workers of America. Rather than risk this possibility, and clearly realizing that conditions generally were not promising for the success of a strike, the Convention accepted the only other course of action open to it—the acceptance of the operators' proposition to continue present conditions as laid down by the award of the Strike Commission. This means, of course, a continuance of the Conciliation Board which has performed such useful service the past three years. This satisfactory outcome to the deliberations of the Mine Workers' Convention is recognized as being largely due to the influence of President Mitchell, the course adopted being the one recommended by him in his speech to the delegates.

❀

Lawlessness in the Mining Regions

A second conflict between idle mine workers and the properly constituted authorities of Pennsylvania since the inauguration of the coal-mining suspension on April 1 occurred at Mount Carmel, in the hard-coal region, on April 30. The first outbreak was on April 16 at Windber, eight miles from Johnstown, in the central soft-coal field, and resulted in the killing of four men and a boy and the wounding of many more as a result of deputy sheriffs firing into a crowd whose members were attempting to rescue from jail twenty men arrested previously in the day for rioting. At Mount Carmel the conflict was between idle mine workers and twenty-two members of the State constabulary who had been called into the county at the request of its Sheriff, who claimed to be unable to maintain peace and order. While the State police were dining at one of the hotels in Mount Carmel a crowd of several thousand people, largely made up of boys and many foreigners, surrounded the place, and later followed the men along the thoroughfare, throwing sticks and stones. After repeated warnings, according to the best evidence obtainable, the police fired into the air to warn the mob to desist, but without effect, and then it was that Lieutenant Smith ordered them to fire into the crowd. Two volleys from the rifles of the police seriously wounded nine men and dispersed the mob. Half

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a dozen arrests have since been made by the State police, and the ringleaders, it is claimed by the police, are now in custody awaiting trial. At the present writing no deaths have resulted, although at least two of those shot are believed to be fatally wounded. Warrants charging felonious shooting have been sworn out against the troopers, but have not yet been served. These manifestations of violence and disorder were followed on May 2 by the issuance of a proclamation by Governor Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania, in which he calls upon all citizens to assist in the maintenance of the law, at the same time setting forth the principles of right action by the State in times of industrial disturbances. It says: "Every man is entitled to labor and to get for his labor the highest compensation he can lawfully secure. There is no law to compel him to labor unless he so chooses, and he may cease to labor whenever he considers it to be to his interest so to cease. The laboring man, out of whose efforts wealth arises, has the sympathy of all disinterested people in his lawful struggles to secure a larger proportion of the profit which results from his labor. What he earns belongs to him, and if he invests his earnings the law protects his property just as the rights of property of all men must be protected. He has no right to interfere with another man who may want to labor. Violence has no place among us and will not be tolerated." This accords with the position The Outlook has so often taken on occasions of rioting and violence in strike times, but the principles cannot be too often emphasized. The law must be observed first and above all else, and when and where it is not observed proper punishment should be speedily inflicted. It is proper here to say, however, that the wonder is not that these two isolated cases of rioting have occurred during the past five weeks since the suspension of coal-mining became effective, but that more of them have not taken place. With more than 175,000 mine workers idle in the two regions where the violence has taken place, and with this number swelled by thousands of other workers thrown out of temporary employment by the suspension, the manner in which this great body of men have as a rule conducted themselves is a tribute to the effectiveness of the forces working for social order, and it is fair and right to call attention to the fact.

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Railway Officials and Coal-Mining Companies

A shameful record of low corporation ethics as reflected in the acts of railway and coal company officials—a record somewhat analogous to that of insurance officials high in the esteem of the public previous to the recent investigation of these companies—has been disclosed in the hearings held the past several weeks by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The present investigation of this body is being conducted under the joint resolution of Congress directing an inquiry into the relations existing between railroads and coal-mining and oil companies, and so far the hearings conducted in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington have been confined to the taking of testimony as regards the soft-coal-carrying roads and the bituminous coal industry. These have shown that railroad companies own certain coal-mining companies; that officials high in the traffic counsels of railroad companies are not only financially interested in coal companies but have accepted as gifts their stock, and have also received other "presents" from such companies; that coal-mining companies identified in these and similar ways with the carrying companies are favored in the distribution of cars and in other directions, while companies and shippers not so identified are discriminated against in the supplying and distribution of cars as well as in the furnishing of facilities and instrumentalities for receiving, forwarding, and carrying coal; that the private coal-car system is a very grave evil and is subject to serious abuses injurious to the public, and that the systems or methods of allotting cars are unfair and unjust to independent shippers not in favor with the railway officials. The testimony also shows that independent companies have been forced to sell their property at a loss to rival companies having railway favor. In another case one large coal

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company was forced to take into partnership a railroad mining company without any cost to the latter for thousands of dollars' worth of stock. The evils of industrial promotion are glaringly illustrated at different points in the testimony, one case disclosing that officials of one coal company purchased as individuals a rival coal company and then bought it from themselves for the company of which they were officials at a clear profit to two men of $249,900. Throughout the testimony is exhibited a most shameful record of so-called financial transactions, barely distinguishable from theft, by means of which a few individuals have been enabled to accumulate fortunes at the expense of stockholders and the public. That some railway officials were not without conviction that their relations with coal-mining companies were at least questionable is evident in the fact that, according to the testimony before the Commission, there was a scampering on the part of some of them to dispose of their stock holdings in coal-mining companies when it became definitely known several months ago that an investigation was to be authorized by Congress. This part of the testimony before the Commission dealing with the relations of railway officials to coal-mining companies is a terrible indictment of the code of business ethics which is found to prevail among these representative corporation officials. A preliminary report by the Commission is expected to be made to Congress within the present month. One effect of the investigation is the sale last week by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad of its majority interest in the Consolidation Coal Company, the latter operating principally in West Virginia and controlling some eight other companies, including the Fairmont Coal Company. The president and two vice-presidents of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have also resigned as directors in the Consolidation Company.

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Monopoly Control of Soft-Coal Traffic

Another feature of the Commission's present investigations, so far merely touched upon, but which promises to grow more important as the hearings continue, is the corporate methods employed by the soft-coal-carrying railroads, dominated by the Pennsylvania, to overcome the legal restrictions placed by the Inter-State Commerce Law upon monopolistic control of trade between the States. The hearings in Philadelphia disclosed the existence of secret organizations or associations and bureaus, through which monopoly power is exercised over the production, carrying, and distribution of soft coal. Not only is there a division of markets among six of the more important railway systems, but the output and price of the product is controlled and the freight rates determined. By means of the Tidewater Bituminous Steam Coal Traffic Association, whose existence the railroads have taken unusual precautions to keep secret since its formation in 1895, six important railway companies—the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Norfolk and Western, the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Philadelphia and Reading—have allotted among themselves, upon a percentage basis, the entire soft-coal traffic to seaboard ports, the rates upon this traffic, of course, being fixed by agreement. It is no doubt true that the problem of transporting bituminous coal from so many different fields to so many common markets by different railroads is a most complicated one, and that the problems involved in dealing with the traffic questions covering so vast a territory and affecting so many diversified interests are troublesome and intricate; yet all this does not justify a studied violation of the law. Not only among the bituminous-coal-carrying railroads, but also among the hard-coal systems, there is too much evidence that the aim of their officials has been, not to do all they can to obey the clear mandates of the law, in spirit as well as in letter, but that they have rather put forth their best efforts to find a way of doing what the law explicitly says they shall not do. So clear does this violation appear to the United States Attorney-General, from the testimony so far taken by the Commission, that Mr. Charles F. Hughes, of insurance investigation fame, and Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr., of Philadelphia,

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have been retained by the Federal Government as special counsel to prosecute the coal-carrying railroad companies. The hearings of the Inter-State Commerce Commission seem to prove beyond further question that there is a group of men whose desire for the accumulation of riches leads them to put forth special efforts to overcome or make inoperative the clear mandates of the people for the safeguarding of the general welfare. We believe that the public is slowly approaching to this view of the situation, and that the people in their own way will, sooner or later, find a remedy for these growing evils which result in the amassing of great fortunes by questionable methods. There is need on the part of corporation officials of greater respect for and obedience to the laws of the Nation and State as expressed in our constitutions and statutes. The violation of their provisions is not justified by the answer that these expressed interpretations of economic laws are wrong, and that corporations, in working out the organization of the industrial State, are subject alone to the "higher" law. Organized society exists solely by obedience to laws expressed through its chosen representatives. Any other course leads but to chaos and anarchy. It is better for the general welfare that obedience be rendered to statutes, even if they do misinterpret natural laws, rather than to permit a group of men within society, such as officials of corporations or labor unions, to place their own self-interested interpretation upon these laws.

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Experiments in Municipal Government

The Court of Appeals of New York State has decided that the law taking from the Board of Aldermen in New York City the power to grant franchises and giving the power to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment is constitutional. Both Boards are elected; but the Board of Estimate and Apportionment contains only nine members, who are elected, some by boroughs, some by the entire municipality; the Board of Aldermen contains seventy-three members and is elected by wards. The tendency to transfer municipal powers from a large legislative body elected by wards to a small administrative body elected on a general ticket is gaining in America; it is a tendency in the right direction. After the destruction of the city of Galveston its affairs were put into the hands of a commission, first appointed by the Governor, afterward elected by popular vote. This worked so well that first Houston, then Dallas, Texas, followed the example, and with apparent advantage. The affairs of Nashville, Tennessee, have been similarly administered for a score of years, and it is reported that the administration has been wholly free from corruption. When the earthquake and the fire threw the city of San Francisco into chaos, the citizens instinctively adopted the same principle, and to-day its affairs are being for the time administered by an extemporized board of citizens co-operating with the Mayor. The city of Washington is exceptional; its administrative body is appointed by the Federal Government; but the success of the administration argues for a small governing body in all cities. The abolition of the large and unwieldy Boards of Education and the substitution of a small workable body has, we believe, been invariably attended with good results. The experience of many English municipalities, whose administrative bodies are generally small and represent the whole municipality, confirms the limited experience of American cities. There is no reason why city governments should be modeled after the State and Federal Governments. There is no reason for representation by wards, which produces a very bad kind of ward politics. There is very little true legislative function to be performed by a city board; its work is mainly administrative. It is as democratic to have a small body as a large one, and more democratic to have a body elected on a general ticket instead of by wards. The New York Legislature would make no mistake if it were to abolish the Board of Aldermen altogether and substitute a body akin to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and then by suitable enactment put all the administration of the city's affairs into its hands.

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The National Municipal League

Mr. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, in his annual address as President of the National Municipal League at Atlantic City, discussed the subject "Why we have Unsatisfactory Public Servants and how we can get Good Ones," declaring, "We can as readily get good civil servants as we can get good military servants; we can obtain legislative and executive officers of as high grade as are our judicial officers, or even as these ought to be; but to gather the same harvest we must sow the same seed and use the same husbandry." In other words, public servants must be adequately compensated; they must be assured a permanency of tenure and a "safeguard against an old age of misery," and "we must treat them as decent, reputable people expect to be treated, must help them to work cheerfully and to good purpose." The American people cannot be justly called stingy. For manual or merely routine public work we pay as liberally as any other nation, if not more so; but we adopt a different rule when we deal with those of our servants who are also our rulers. The whole tone of the Atlantic City meeting was one of encouragement. The reports were uniformly to the effect that there was a general and most satisfactory awakening of the people to their municipal obligations and opportunities. The Secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, in his annual review, which was appropriately entitled "Practical Progress," said: "At each meeting (since 1894) I have been able to report some advances, some encouraging developments; but the past twelve months have outstripped all others in practical progress. Indeed, they represent more substantial achievement than all the preceding years together. From every quarter comes word as to awakened interest and patriotic endeavor. Heroism, heretofore largely an incident of military activity, is now in large degree manifested in our endeavor." Secretary Root's letter to Mayor Weaver, Secretary Taft's speech in the Ohio campaign in which he declared against the Cox ticket in Cincinnati, Secretary Bonaparte's attitude in the Maryland campaign, ex-Attorney-General MacVeagh's and ex-Postmaster-General Smith's activity in the Philadelphia campaign, were cited time and again as striking evidences and reinforcements of the contention long maintained and insisted upon by the National Municipal League, that National parties and National party questions have no part and should play no part in the determination of local issues.

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Encouraging Facts

The very rapid spread of interest among city officials in the subject of uniform accounting and reporting was described at length by L. G. Powers, of the Census Bureau, in a striking paper on "The Acceptance of Municipal Accounting Reform." The wisdom which guided the League in drafting its schedules is evidenced by a number of facts. "No city which adopted its classification has ever abandoned it. The number of cities using it has increased from the beginning in a geometrical ratio." Some of the effects which have followed the publication of Census Bulletin No. 20, with its statistics of cities of 25,000, have been most striking. For instance, it disclosed to the cities of the Pacific Coast the fact that, unlike most other cities of the country, they were not receiving any interest on the current deposits of cash in banks. A disclosure of this has led to an agitation for legislation, and there is every probability that before long laws will be made to require interest not only on all deposits of cities, but on those of counties and other civil subdivisions. In Missouri it was disclosed that the cities of that State (except St. Louis) had no way of ascertaining from their own books the amount of taxes from railroads to which they were entitled, and this is to be remedied by the next Legislature. The question as to the municipal ownership and operation of public utilities evoked an animated discussion. Ex-Mayor James M. Head, of Nashville, Tennessee, told a moving story of his experiences with the local public service companies. He brought out the helplessness of municipal corporations, likening them to "lunatics, idiots, and married women under the

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common law," without power to carry on their own business. His description of the opposition of all the corporate interests of the State to his bill to permit Nashville to make and sell electric light brought out the solidarity of these interests. Mayor Head contended strongly for a reservation in every franchise of the right of the city to purchase at any time. He maintained that a limited franchise, while removing the corporate influence from politics for the time being, brought it back in full force and effect at the expiration of the term in order to secure a renewal.

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The New San Francisco

The hearts of all who care for a beautiful America will be gladdened by two recent movements—one on the Pacific and the other on the Atlantic coast. The first and most important is the careful consideration which is being given to the rebuilding of San Francisco so as to give the new city unity, individuality, and distinction. Mayor Schmitz, who has apparently risen fully to the demands of the great crisis in the affairs of the city, estimates that the replacement of the wrecked municipal buildings, including schools and fire houses, will cost not less than one hundred millions of dollars. In order that the situation in regard to rebuilding may be dealt with intelligently and in the most statesmanlike manner, a committee of forty leading citizens in all lines of activity has been appointed by the Mayor. This committee will consider various plans suggested in regard to the architectural reorganization of the city. Extensive plans were made some time ago by Mr. Burnham which contemplate radical reconstruction for the purpose of making a beautiful city which shall symbolize to the eye the commanding position of San Francisco as the gateway to the East on the Western coast. It is proposed to get the best architectural, engineering, and sanitary advice; to secure, if possible, a general plan which will combine convenience and beauty; and it is greatly to be hoped that the energy, courage, and faith in the future which have been characteristic of San Francisco will prompt its citizens to take a step forward and make the new city a leader in the movement which is destined sooner or later to include every intelligent community. Paris still stands almost alone among the large cities in dealing with itself as a municipal whole, in which parts are subordinated to the general effect, and convenience and beauty are combined in a unity which is an expression of the artistic genius of the French people. San Francisco has the opportunity, with proper adaptations to new conditions, to achieve the same results and to become a distinctive city in the convenience of its arrangement, the beauty of its general scheme, and the harmony of its buildings. It costs no more money to secure beauty than to perpetuate ugliness. There are enough ugly cities in America—towns which show no unity and are nothing but an aggregation of houses. San Francisco has a chance to become a city worthy of the name, in architecture as well as in government.

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The Record of a "Reform Legislature"

The New York Legislature which adjourned last week was one of three which were conspicuous products of the "anti-boss" elections last fall. Something of what the Pennsylvania and Ohio Legislatures accomplished The Outlook has already told. To give a dog too good a name is almost as bad for the dog as to give him a bad name. Of each of these Legislatures too much was expected; consequently each was in a measure the cause for disappointment. This has been especially true of the New York Legislature. Yet its record has been a creditable one. "Grab bills," about which much was heard a year ago, have either not appeared or have been effectually suppressed. Difference of opinion has arisen concerning the merits of some of the bills passed, but in no case that we call to mind has there been evoked the general condemnation of decent or public-spirited people. The most important service the Legislature has rendered is the enactment of insurance laws designed to remedy the conditions laid bare by the Armstrong investigation. In general, the

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remedies applied have been publicity in management and limitation of the powers of officials—in other words, the application to insurance of some of the principles (though not the methods) of savings bank legislation. The Elsberg measure, which The Outlook has outlined, and which, approved by Mayor and Governor, is now law, stands greatly to the credit of the Legislature. In the face of corporate opposition, its extension of the powers of the municipality in dealing with rapid transit matters marks a distinct advance in American municipal democracy. Another law in control of transportation is that which compels the New York Central Railway to remové its tracks from the surface of one of New York City's principal streets. This signified an independence in the Legislature that has been lacking heretofore. The passage of a bill establishing a recording tax in place of an annual tax on mortgages, its amendment to meet the objections stated in the Governor's veto, and its repassage, proved also the quality of the Legislature, especially as a stubborn minority put every possible obstruction in the way. Great public service was rendered by Lieutenant-Governor Bruce, who, as presiding officer of that body, enabled the majority, by his rulings, really to govern. Against equally persistent and more discreditable opposition the Legislature also saved one of the finest features of Hudson River scenery from spoliation. In liquor legislation the record is one of good judgment and freedom from intimidation. A well-devised and, it is hoped, effective law was enacted to draw the fangs of the notorious Raines Law hotels. On the other hand, in the face of a most vigorous agitation on the part of a great many ministers and other church people, the Legislature refused to enact a measure giving groups of voters the right to carve out districts in which a local option vote might be taken. The Outlook has long advocated local option for districts in cities; but it believes the Legislature did wisely in refusing to follow Ohio in incorporating into a local option measure the vicious principle of the gerrymander. The Corrupt Practices Bill was badly damaged in the course of its passage, and is not an effective measure; the attempt to keep the promise that the tax on savings banks' surplus should be repealed was shamefully defeated by a faction; and, unfortunately, the bill for the control of the sale of drugs and secret medical preparations failed of passage altogether. On the other hand, thanks to the Legislature, New York now is, subject to court decision, assured of eighty-cent gas, and has asserted once more its right to control a public utility. The result may be ascribed to wise leadership; and especial credit is due to the irenic firmness of Governor Higgins.

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Exit Witte The Czar did not choose to profit last week by Lincoln's advice, "Don't swap horses when crossing a stream." Under the guidance of a skillful pilot Russia has been crossing from autocracy to constitutionalism. In a few days her first national legislative assembly will convene. A week ago it was announced that the Czar would open it in person amid fitting pomp. For the moment men fancied Liberalism's triumph doubly intrenched. Then appeared a cancellation of the promise and the draft of reactionary "Fundamental Laws," on which The Outlook has already commented. It seemed almost appropriate that a Liberal Premier's resignation should follow. Though Russia's first Premier was by no means an ideal Liberal, he had been stout enough in his ideas of what Liberalism should mean to hold at bay for six months perhaps the most redoubtable and inimical opposition ever faced by any man—the court, church, military, and bureaucratic circles. Furthermore, Count Witte represented what not too many statesmen have—the fairly unprejudiced and disinterested detachment necessary to guide the Russian ship of state safely in these troublous times. That the Czar should accept the resignation of such a Prime Minister would indicate little appreciation of the work yet lying before the Russian Liberals in conciliating their opponents—the reactionaries on the one hand, the revolutionaries on the other. Owing to difficulties with the

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Czar, Count Witte's resignation had been so often reported that when finally it was offered and accepted and a successor named, a day or two passed before the event was accepted as an actual occurrence. The resignation is ascribed to various causes: to the difficulty with which any one of the Witte temperament would have in working with a Czar, and to the undisguised hostility of the opposition above mentioned and of such representatives in particular as the Grand Duke Alexander, the ex-Procurator Pobyedonostsev, General Trepov, and Minister of the Interior Durnovo; it is also ascribed to the publication of reactionary "Fundamental Laws" which the Premier had opposed; by other interpreters it is ascribed to the indignant reception by the Czar of laws "on the draft of which Witte had insisted"! It is to be noted, however, that Count Witte was not permitted to lay down the Premiership until he had floated a huge loan for the existing Government; a task which probably could not have been accomplished save by the credit justly attaching to one who, as Finance Minister, had put Russian currency on a gold basis, had handled an enormous debt with consummate skill and actually made vast new borrowings, had established new and large industries in many places, creating an important source of national income and thrift, while another source of income was created by his establishment of the vodka (whisky) monopoly; and, finally, had built the Trans-Siberian Railway. As Premier, Count Witte has earnestly endeavored to carry out the reforms outlined by himself to the Czar a year ago last winter—a memorandum which Russians might regard as their Magna Charta.

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Enter Goremyken

It is questionable, however, whether Sergei Witte would have been the man long to retain a Premier's portfolio after the new Parliament had got well under way. He had been successful as a Finance Minister beyond a Colbert or a Neckar of the past, and beyond a Sonnino or a Wekerle in our own day. But as a Prime Minister, so his critics claim, Count Witte lacks both the necessary human sympathy and the equally necessary sincerity. His head rather than his heart has been in evidence, and his methods—as was noted in one striking instance last summer at Portsmouth—would indicate his belief in the misleading maxim, "The end justifies the means." Opportunist as he has been, he has nevertheless been an opportunist of no mean order. It has been his good fortune to serve his country at critical periods of her history—the economic financial crisis of 1898–1903, the diplomatic crisis of last summer, and the political crisis since. In these periods Count Witte's services have not been merely distinguished services; they have been vital to Russia's regeneration. Certainly they deserve a better requital than what seems practically a dismissal from office of unquestionably the greatest man yet produced in Russian public life. Bismarck's dismissal in 1890 seemed almost an analogous case. But under Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow, Germany has prospered amazingly. Let us hope that this may hold true of Russia under Goremykin. He comes of a noble family of the province of Novgorod, having large estates noted for the excellence of their dairy products; they practically supply St. Petersburg with milk. The new Premier began his official career in the Ministry of Justice, finally becoming Assistant Minister. From 1895 to 1899 he was Minister of the Interior, the coronation of the present Czar (1896) occurring in that period. In 1897 several oppressive laws were relaxed, among others those controlling the residence of Jews; henceforth Jews who had a university education might live anywhere in Russia. The taking of the Empire's first census also occurred under the Goremykin administration. But it suppressed the truth as to famine conditions and was pitilessly exposed by Count Witte, who is now succeeded by his former opponent. Taking that administration as a whole, however, we find a greater freedom from harshness than existed in the Department of the Interior before and since. Nevertheless, while nominally a Liberal of conservative leaning, the new Prime Minister is

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suspected not only by the revolutionaries but by many Moderates of being at heart a reactionary. Whether he is so or not, we are glad to note his disavowal of a reactionary policy as to the new Parliament. In the present temper of a vast majority of the Russian people such a policy would certainly provoke a revolution.

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A Postponed Revolution

Revolutions, like blizzards, if they are predicted well in advance with great definiteness of detail, rarely occur. The revolution in France, arranged by some newspaper correspondents and announced with much elaboration to the journals of the world, has been indefinitely postponed. There are undoubtedly very considerable elements of disorder in France, and especially in Paris; that there has been anything like a concerted effort by the different groups of disaffected persons to combine and overthrow the Republic is highly improbable. Prompt action of the Government probably saved Paris from widespread disorder on May Day. The distribution of large bodies of troops at the danger-points like the Place de la République, and the presence of large numbers of gensdarmes along the avenues where disorder was likely to occur, held in check a vast crowd of people, a great majority of whom were undoubtedly spectators. The main avenues of the city on that morning were notably quiet. At the Place de la République, however, there was a great crowd moving restlessly though quietly from point to point. The morning passed without disturbance. Wherever a man showed the slightest signs of becoming disorderly he was arrested by the police, squads of whom were kept moving in every direction. About eleven o'clock the efforts of the authorities were reinforced by a sharp shower, and the revolutionists dispersed for a time. Heavy rain is a test of courage. Sainte-Beuve was once about to fight a duel when a few drops fell from a passing cloud. The great critic promptly raised an umbrella, and, in response to the expostulations of his seconds, declared he was willing to be shot but not willing to get wet. It has happened more than once that a timely shower has defeated a revolutionary movement. At noon there was an encounter between about six hundred strikers and twenty policemen, during which shots were interchanged and several men wounded. Late in the afternoon a crowd in the Faubourg du Temple began stoning the troops, who charged, dispersed the mob, and made about fifty arrests. Fifteen minutes later, on the Grand Boulevard, near the Place de la République, the situation was so menacing that three blasts of the bugle were blown—the legal warning given before troops can charge upon or attack a mob. The first barricade was erected in the afternoon in the Belleville district, but was soon destroyed by troops. The police reported that several bombs were found in various parts of Paris. Most of them proved to be sham. The only injury to property was the damage done to the railway bridge which crosses the Seine at Argenteuil, and the only damage to life was the killing of a Russian revolutionist by a bomb which accidentally exploded in his hands. The shops were closed early. At a little after six the mob in front of the Labor Exchange was dispersed by cavalry, several persons being injured in the charge. In the evening the strain on the nerves and patience both of the mobs and the police reached its highest tension, and the treatment of some individuals in various parts of the city seems to have been very severe. After various disorders in several parts of the city, all of which were promptly repressed, the crowd disappeared, and by midnight the streets were deserted. About a thousand arrests were made. The movement seems to have spent itself, though there are strikes of considerable magnitude going on in various parts of the country. It is estimated that about seventy thousand men are now striking in the various trades in Paris, but there is no probability, apparently, of a general strike, nor has any evidence come to light of an organized revolutionary outbreak.

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The Elections The complete clearing of the air was evident on Sunday, when elections for the Chamber of Deputies took place in all parts of the Republic. Indeed, the quietness which prevailed showed how great an advance has been made in the adjustment of the habits and temper of the French people to the order and progressive spirit of popular institutions. There was an average of three candidates in each district, and the differences were often personal rather than political. In spite of the bitterness of the religious controversy which has been going on, and the opposition aroused by the policy of the Ministry, so drastically carried out, very few candidates were running as Clericals. The struggle lay between the combination of sections represented by M. Clemenceau, the Radical and Moderate Republicans of all shades, and the Opposition, including Loyalists, Clericals, and extreme Socialists. There would have been small doubt about the situation had it not been for the labor agitations, and the wave of resentment against M. Clemenceau set in motion by the extreme measures of repression adopted during the few days before election. The result, as indicated by the first day of elections, shows no sign of abatement of confidence in the Ministry, and no desire on the part of any influential group to change the form of government. The day was fine, and a very heavy vote was polled. The result on Sunday night gave the Opposition a smaller majority than it had in the same places at the previous election, and it is expected that the second ballot, which will be taken on the 20th, following the course of the election of 1902, will show a distinct gain for the Government. Returns from the provinces are unexpectedly favorable to the Government candidates, who have lost only two seats and captured at least eighteen. If indications at this writing are to be trusted, the Government has gained, in view of recent events, a distinct and notable victory. Its recent firm attitude towards disorder has received the approval of the country, and the policy of separating Church from State has again been most heartily and emphatically indorsed.

Turkey, Egypt and England For many years England's policy has been directed towards the maintenance of the *status quo* in Arabia. In the East the independence of the Sultan of Oman and the Sheikh of Koweit had been repeatedly threatened by the Turks. The western border is now threatened. At the north of the Red Sea are two long gulfs—that of Akaba to the northeast, that of Suez to the northwest. The ancient boundary between Asia and Africa once ran from the head of the Gulf of Suez to El Arish on the Mediterranean, a place half-way between Port Saïd and Jaffa. The modern boundary runs from the head of the Gulf of Akaba to El Arish. Thus the modern boundary takes the Sinaitic peninsula from Turkey and places it under Egyptian control, or rather under the ultimate control of England, as administering Egypt. Two generations ago, when the Khedivate of Egypt was made hereditary, Turkey, as Egypt's actual sovereign at that time, granted to the Egyptian Government authority to administer the affairs of the Sinaitic peninsula, and to maintain a garrison at the port of Akaba, at the head of the gulf of that name; thus the peninsula became politically a part of Africa. This arrangement seemed wise on Turkey's part, because Egypt was better able to safeguard the many North African Mohammedan pilgrims journeying towards Medina and Mecca, the holy places of Islam, on the eastern side of the Red Sea. The Turkish Sultan, however, having lost prestige both in Europe and Asia, recognized that the maintenance of his authority depended, first of all, on his power of appealing to the faithful as the Khalif, or successor of Mohammed, and that this was dependent upon his control not only of such holy places as Mecca and Medina, but also of as much near-by territory as possible. Accordingly, sixteen years ago, when the present Khedive ascended the throne, the Sultan succeeded in making an arrangement that the Egyptian garrison should be withdrawn from Akaba, but that the Egyptian administration should be respected throughout the peninsula to the modern boundary line. Despite this, a few weeks ago Turkish troops

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established a post on the Egyptian side of the border near Akaba, with the plea that they wanted the control of a considerable district around such an important water terminus, an importance which Turkey intends to double by constructing to it a branch railway from the Damascus-Hedjaz trunk line, now being built for her by German promoters. But Germany does not countenance the action of the Turkish troops, and England's prompt remonstrance has had the support of France, Russia, and Italy. The Anglo-Egyptian army has been reinforced, and the British Mediterranean fleet ordered to prepare for a demonstration in Turkish waters unless the Sultan withdraws his troops and outposts from across the border pending its final delimitation by an international commission.

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Britons Drinking Less Alcohol

Probably the most striking statement made by Mr. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the annual "Budget Day" last week in the House of Commons was that there had been a progressive diminution in the yield of the liquor duties. The change, which apparently affects all classes of society, will be hailed with satisfaction by social reformers. Reviewing the year in general, Mr. Asquith pointed out another cheering fact—the country's revenue was larger and the expenditures smaller than the estimates. The resultant surplus is to be used for debt reduction, for necessitous school districts, for revising the parcels-post rates, for reducing the duty on tea and tobacco, and for repealing the duty on coal. Surveying the general financial situation, the new Chancellor referred to the growth of the national debt, now nearly four billion dollars, and to the great expenditure authorized by his predecessors, dwelling especially on the huge sums devoted to the army and navy. He struck at the weak point in his predecessors' programme when he declared his intention at the earliest possible moment to discontinue the system of carrying out military and naval works by unclassed temporary borrowings. Such loans have to be cared for by the banks, whereas an issue of consols appeals to the general public. The English floating debt now stands at nearly three hundred million dollars. It is a source of disquietude, because, first, should a sudden emergency arise, the country's borrowing powers would be hampered; and, second, because it means that the Government has been competing for and locking up short-term funds which otherwise would be available for commercial enterprises. The incident raises the whole question as to whether governmental casual borrowings do not constitute a demoralizing practice.

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The President's Message

It was about 1873 that the movement for some degree of Governmental supervision of the Nation's highways first made itself felt in Congress. Every attempt to secure such supervision was vigorously resisted by the railways. Reinforced by the inertia which now calls itself conservatism, they stood for the principle that railways are private property, that railroading is a private business, and that no remedy for injustice was needed except free competition. Not until 1887 was the bill passed creating a National Railway Commission. But this Commission was without power, and, despite its intervention, the unjustifiable use of railway powers for private ends continued and increased. In August, 1902, Mr. Roosevelt sounded his first call for some adequate measure of reform. It was characteristic of him to sound it in Providence, Rhode Island, said to be the city of greatest corporate wealth for its size in the United States. It was also characteristic of him to put his first summons for reform in very general terms: The State, he said, has a right and a duty to control the great corporations whenever the need of such control is shown; and the existing conditions show very evident need of some measure of Governmental supervision. The outcry against this very general statement had no other effect than to lead Mr. Roosevelt to define more clearly his position

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in subsequent addresses. In his message of December, 1904, he suggested certain specific regulations which the public welfare demanded, among them laws requiring the block signal system, limiting the hours of labor for railway employees, official investigation by Government of all serious railway accidents, and a more efficient provision for enforcing the safety appliance law which had been enacted the year before. In the same message he insisted that only the National Government could deal adequately with inter-State corporations, and advocated legislation conferring upon the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to regulate and revise railway rates. At Raleigh, North Carolina, in October, 1905, he took the next step in advance—he declared himself in favor of a law giving to some administrative body "ample power to forbid combination that is hurtful to the public and to prevent favoritism to one individual at the expense of another," and he indicated, as the most important thing to do, the conferring of power on such a body to fix a maximum rate in the case of railways, "to go into effect practically at once unless reversed by the courts." In November of the same year, in a brief speech to a delegation of railway employees who had been sent to influence him against Government control of railway rates, he reiterated his conviction that "there must be an increased regulatory and supervisory power exercised by the Government over the railways," and his wish to see "it exercised to a much greater extent than I have any idea of pressing at the moment." A month later, December, 1905, in his annual Message to Congress, he defined in carefully chosen terms what form he would have this regulatory and supervisory control take at the present time. This definition was as follows:

> In my judgment, the most important provision which such law should contain is that conferring upon some competent administrative body the power to decide, upon the case being brought before it, whether a given rate prescribed by a railroad is reasonable and just, and if it is found to be unreasonable and unjust, then, after full investigation of the complaint, to prescribe the limit of rate beyond which it shall not be lawful to go—the maximum reasonable rate, as it is commonly called—this decision to go into effect within a reasonable time and to obtain from thence onward, subject to review by the courts.

Finally, in his latest message, of which we give an abstract in another column, he urges, in addition to this railway reform, legislation against monopolistic control by taking the tax off alcohol as a competitive fuel to coal and oil, and by keeping the Governmental control of the oil and coal lands wherever such lands have not already passed into private hands. Possibly the kind of control he would have the Government exercise over such indispensable necessities of modern life as coal and oil where they have passed into private hands may be among the powers he would like to see exercised to a much greater extent than he has any idea of pressing at the moment.

This brief and imperfect history incidentally but adequately answers those journalistic critics who have accused Mr. Roosevelt of vagueness and vacillation, of not knowing his own mind, and of dealing with glittering generalities. But it is not for that purpose that we have refreshed the memory of our readers. It is that we may, in this progress of Mr. Roosevelt's utterances, trace that progress of public opinion which his utterances reflect and have done so much to create. The investigations of the Inter-State Commerce Commission had proved the public injustice inevitably produced by allowing the highways of the Nation to be operated simply as private property and for private interests. The investigations of the Beef Trust have satisfied the public that monopolistic control of the meat markets of the country are equally perilous to the country's welfare. The investigations of the Standard Oil Company have gone far enough to secure an official indorsement of some of the charges which have long been current against that ably administered monopoly. We await the investigations of the coal industry with reasonable assurance that they will not indicate that monopoly in coal is any better than any other form of monopoly. The country moves slowly; but it is gradually approaching certain fundamental conclusions concerning industrial democracy,

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conclusions which we venture to sum up in the following terms:

1. We have passed out of the era of industrial individualism and unrestricted competition into that of industrial combination which inevitably tends to industrial monopoly.

2. Such monopoly is wholly inconsistent with human liberty, and is not to be endured by a free people.

3. The first step toward ultimate remedy is bringing such monopolistic combinations, wherever they exist and however they have been produced, under the control of a greater combination—that of all the people acting through their government.

4. Whatever dangers to the individual may be threatened by such control are amply guarded against by maintaining the integrity, the authority, and the independence of the judiciary as a protection of the rights of person and property.

5. But it is not inconsistent with those rights for the Government to maintain its ownership of the common wealth—as the oil and the minerals in the ground—wherever it has such ownership; and we may add that where it has not such ownership it is not at all impossible that it may find a way to acquire it, without disregard of private rights, whenever the public welfare requires.

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The Anthracite Coal Issue

The anthracite coal miners have decided not to strike. This is a wise decision.

The apparent issue between the coal miners and the coal operators was not one which justifies a strike. Both were willing to arbitrate. They disagreed as to the question to be arbitrated. The coal miners wanted to submit their demands for higher wages and better conditions to arbitration. The coal operators insisted that these demands were settled by arbitration three years ago, but were willing to arbitrate the question whether there is any change in conditions which calls for a new adjustment of wages and conditions.

There is something to be said for both sides on this question. For the operators: that stability is important for the best interests of the entire community, that constant changes in wages involve constant changes in price of fuel, one of the great necessities of life. For the miner: that three years is as long as any man ought to be asked to fix the wages and conditions of his life.

But the apparent issue is not the real issue. The real issue is this: Is the coal industry organized on a just basis? The miners say, No. So does The Outlook.

The coal companies are combined for the purpose of fixing the price of coal and the rate of wages. Such a combination is contrary to public policy, perhaps contrary to the Anti-Trust Law. If the public allows a combination to control wages and prices, then the public ought to control the combination.

The coal companies are combined with the carrying companies. This is prohibited by the present law of Pennsylvania; the Supreme Court of the United States says that it is contrary to the common law; the people of the United States believe that it is contrary to public policy. The first combination promotes monopoly, the second establishes it.

The coal companies, or some of them, have expended capital in buying coal lands which they are not working. This may be good economy for the public as well as for the coal companies. But they are paying dividends on this idle capital; and this is not good economy for the public. The dividends are coming out of the wages paid to the miners, or out of the prices paid by the consumers, or out of both. If the public are to pay the interest on the coal lands, they should own the coal lands.

The miners realize this triple injustice. It bears hardly on them. The consumers are beginning to realize this injustice; it bears scarcely less hardly on them. But the Federal Government has already taken this matter up. An investigation into the conditions has been ordered. Mr. Charles F. Hughes has been appointed to conduct it. His thoroughness in the insurance investigation gives

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assurance that his coal-mining investigation will be thorough. The coal miners have more to hope from a Federal investigation than from a strike. A strike inflicts little inconvenience on the operators; it inflicts great inconvenience on the consumers; and it would inflict serious distress on the miners. Worst of all, it would array a not too thoughtful public against the miners, in an issue which neither public nor miners fully understand.

The Outlook sympathizes with the miners in their desire for better wages and improved vital conditions. It agrees with their conviction that the industrial system in the anthracite coal fields is economically and ethically bad. But it counsels them to bear the already lightened injustice with patience a little longer. The remedy is in Federal action, not in a coal strike. A strike would delay, not quicken, the remedy.

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A Message from Non-Church-Goers

The following letter, addressed to the editor of The Outlook, represents opinions that are held, we are sure, by a great many, and it deserves careful reading by those who do not agree with the writer:

I am a farmer. I joined the Congregational Church at the age of nineteen—am now sixty-six. I have read your book, "The Christian Ministry," with profit; it is all right for the one half of the population of New York who attend religious meetings from spiritual motives, as you understand it. I regard that class as of the highest type of humanity. Yet I very much doubt if I fully understand either intellectually or by experience what spirituality means. If it means a certain mental attitude that you call communion with God, and a love for Him whom I cannot see like the love of one that I *can* see—if it means an attitude of mind that finds great delight in prayer to God when I know that he will not deviate from his fixed laws, or praise to him who does not demand it (certainly not for his own sake), then I am not in it to a very appreciable extent. If there are those among the other half of the population of New York, the non-church-going people, who love the *principles* and *teachings* laid down by the founder of Christianity, with all their might, mind, and strength, that is the class to which I naturally belong; but spirituality in the sense that I have tried to describe is beyond and above us. I confess that when I listen to a sermon along these lines I am not interested; and I doubt not that a great deal more than half of any community have a similar make-up as myself.

Indeed, spiritual life in parts of rural New England is so weak that church life is nearly extinguished. I could show you a section five miles square where there is not one in ten that make any pretension of going to church; but there is need enough of the inculcation of *practical* Christianity in such sections.

When I see the few devoted church members in a little village taxing themselves to support three ministers, who devote all their energy in trying to interest three little sprinklings of humanity scattered among many pews in great hollow churches, my soul rises up in rebellion and demands some revolution—such a revolution as will put ministers in harnesses that are fit in which to work, like the Salvation Army, among the outside fifty per cent. of New York and the seventy-five per cent. of rural New England. And this larger per cent., in my humble opinion, may best be reached along lines suggested by Henry Drummond when he says, "What makes the skilled mechanic? Practice. What makes the good penman? Practice. What makes the good man? Practice."

Now, I suppose that all Christian effort is for the accomplishment of one and the same end; namely, the enkindling of a hunger and thirst after righteousness in the hearts of men, such as leads to a loving Christian life. Now, A and B are differently constituted. If A can hold communion with God, and prayer and praise are a help to him on the Christian journey, that road is most certainly the road for him to travel; but if B is of a more practical make-up, and cannot reach those heights of imagination like his neighbor A, but finally reaches the same goal of Christlikeness through the practice of Christian virtues, I think you will agree with me that it cannot be said of them that one has any pre-eminence over the other.

Now, is not the question worthy of our study and consideration, What kind of Sunday exercises would be proper to advertise for public gatherings that would draw the B class of people together and have the gospel of practical Christianity inculcated? Milk for babes, you know. * * *

If we wished to reply to the author of this letter, we should endeavor to interpret to him the meaning of the term spirituality; we should attempt to show him that human progress depends upon the possession of noble ideals and never goes beyond the ideal; we should lay emphasis on the value of a faith which gives to the soul an inspiring vision, and

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a hope which is an inspiring aspiration; we should enforce the fact that a religion without spirituality, like that of the Chinese, naturally and almost inevitably degenerates into mere rules of propriety.

But we do not wish to reply to this letter; we wish to enforce it. For it represents with great candor a point of view which the ministers are too apt to ignore, and of which they are indeed too often wholly ignorant: the view of men who are skeptical, not because they are immoral, but because they are unimaginative, and who are indifferent to the Church, not because they are indifferent to religion, but because the Church seems to them indifferent to present life and present duties. The question which our correspondent asks is worth pondering by all religious teachers. What message has the Gospel for those who are interested in this life but not in the next, who are interested in their fellowmen but not in their God? Has it any?

We think it has. If the Ten Commandments be regarded as an embodiment of religion, it may be said that four of them concern reverence toward God. The other six concern man's duties to his fellow-men. If Micah's definition of religion be accepted, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," two-thirds of religion has to do with man's conduct toward other men. If Paul's summary of Christ's teaching be thought adequate, "The grace of God hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," half of religion is involved in self-control and doing unto others as we would wish that others should do unto us. If we take as our definition of religion Christ's summary of the law, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, as the first commandment, and Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself as "like unto it," we shall not go far wrong if we affirm that this second command is like unto the first in its origin, in its sacredness, and in its importance. In brief, if it is true, as we believe it to be, that humanitarianism is not the whole of religion, it is equally true that neither is the whole of religion comprised in piety.

Each age comes into a consciousness of some special need, and to this conscious need of the age the ministry must direct its chiefest efforts. This age is pre-eminently conscious of needing a social message. Philanthropy, revolted by the cruelty practiced on women and children by the selfish individualism of a former age; trade unionism, created first for self-defense and then directed into aggressive warfare, but in both self-defense and aggressive warfare recognizing the truth that an injury to one is an injury to all and a benefit to one is a benefit to all; commercial enterprises, coerced into great combinations by the discovery of steam and the invention of machinery and the division of labor; political corruption, threatening the very life of the State, and this because the State has accepted the monstrous falsehood that if each individual votes for his own interests the interests of all will be cared for—all have combined to teach mankind that we are members one of another. There are thousands of honest and earnest men who are greatly concerned to learn what are the laws of the social order, but are not greatly concerned to learn the laws of personal holiness. They have learned, or are learning, in the school of experience, that intelligent selfishness brings neither industrial, social, nor political well-being. What will bring them? This they want to know. They do not greatly care to know what will fit them for heaven. This is the fact which the ministry faces to-day.

There are two ways in which it may meet this fact. It may pass by the demand of the community for instruction in the laws of the social order, and insist on the pre-eminent importance of personal holiness. It will then continue to have the ear of those who remain more interested in personal than in social well-being. But it will not be heeded, nor even much heard, by those who care more for social than for personal well-being. Or the ministry may go to the Bible—to the laws of Moses, to the instructions of the prophets, to the teach-

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ings of Jesus Christ—and seek to find what are the laws of the social order; it may then look out upon the life of America to-day, and see what are its social, industrial, and political conditions; and then it may clearly and courageously apply to these American conditions the social teachings of the law, of the prophets, and of Jesus Christ. In brief, it may recognize not merely the spiritual wants but the *conscious* wants of the age, and may address its message, not to what it deems man's highest moral need, but to the moral need which the men of to-day see most clearly and feel most keenly.

We are not urging that ministers should substitute lectures on sociology for sermons on religion. But the religion of Jesus Christ is itself a sociological religion. It is more than a mere personal reformation: it is a new social order. Christ came preaching that the kingdom of God is at hand. He taught his disciples to pray, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done *on earth* as it is in heaven. Just now there is a great deal more interest among men to know what the divine will requires on earth than what it accomplishes in heaven. Personal holiness and social welfare cannot, indeed, be separated. No naval architecture can make a sound ship out of rotten timber; no sociology can make a prosperous State out of corrupt men. But the ministry may well consider whether, under present conditions, they will not lead men most quickly to see the need of personal holiness by attempting to answer their inquiry for the true principles of the social order, whether they will not best prepare them for another life by teaching them how to make this life a good one, whether they will not find that inspiring them to promote a brotherhood of man will be the speediest way to inspire in them faith in the Fatherhood of God, whether love to man may not prove to be the open door to holy aspirations and a spiritual faith.

THE CINCINNATI FESTIVAL

FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

THERE was a sudden lull in the buzz of conversation, then a sharp, prolonged rattle of applause. A tall man, with stooping shoulders and with strong, clear features, every movement bespeaking the unaffected student, walked promptly across the platform, edged his way between the second violinists and the front of the platform, took his place beside the conductor's stand, and with unstudied dignity bowed his acknowledgment. Then he turned and faced the orchestra, and behind it the great rising semicircular mass of the chorus. As he stretched out his long arms over the orchestra, the people quieted; they, it seemed, had been forgotten by the man they had greeted. With the first beat—strong, angular, commanding—there came from the orchestra a still, deep, rustling note, and then great, quiet, brooding chords. The performance of Elgar's oratorio, "The Apostles," had begun.

It was Sir Edward Elgar himself that stood there, this second evening of the music festival at Cincinnati, and directed his great work. It was with expectancy that the audience of some three thousand had assembled to hear him interpret his own music. The people of Cincinnati had heard at their latest festival, two years ago, his other important choral composition, "The Dream of Gerontius." The expectancy was more than that of curiosity to see a man of genius; it was, at least on the part of many, that of an intelligent desire to hear how Sir Edward wished his music to sound. Of course there were some present who were frankly uninterested. One young woman in the audience was overheard, when asked her opinion, to remark, frankly, "Well, I'm not crazy over it." There are a number of presumably informed musical critics who are in precisely that young woman's frame of mind. Some of these believe that an oratorio should consist of recitative, aria, chorus, after the orthodox, Handelian, Mendelssohnian manner.

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In opera they regard the old Handelian form as obviously antiquated, and though they can appreciate an early Verdi opera, they would never think of questioning its artificiality. Wagner has changed all that. But when it comes to oratorio, they are in exactly the same position that their predecessors were in the days of Wagner's struggle. Now, Elgar treats a dramatic poem (as "Gerontius") or a dramatic arrangement of Biblical incidents (as "The Apostles") according to the same general principles which Wagner has permanently established in the musical treatment of the staged drama—that is, he has abandoned set pieces, strung conventionally one after the other; instead, he makes his music interpret the dramatic feeling of the poem as it develops. Solo voice, chorus, quartette, orchestra, even two or three bodies of voices, he uses separately, in different combinations or all together as the mood of the moment indicates. In other words, he does not treat oratorio as a form of absolute music, which employs words only because it must have singers; but as a form of dramatic music, in which the structure must be fitted to the conditions created by the words. It is often the case that professional musicians exalt method to the place of principle, just as lawyers are apt to put procedure into the place of justice, and ministers to put theology into the place of religion. The common people, however, know when they are getting procedure instead of justice, and theology instead of religion. So they are equipped, if they have taste, to recognize, before some of the professional critics, a movement in the progress of art. It was evident that the judgment of the people at the Cincinnati Festival was one of acceptance of this new form of art; or rather, perhaps, it was, more accurately, less a judgment on a form of art than an acknowledgment that this new form was adequate to convey to the not over sophisticated lover of music an impression of dramatic spiritual experience expressed with affecting beauty.

Both of Elgar's choral works given at the Festival have been heard in America before; both were given in New York under Mr. Frank Damrosch, and the impressions they made were recorded in The Outlook for April 4, 1903, and February 20, 1904. Their repetition under Sir Edward's leadership made the musical beauty, the essential coherence, and the spiritual significance of each clearer. If the personal feeling of one hearer is any test, of the two "The Apostles" gains in relative impressiveness upon a rehearing. As a performer upon an orchestra and chorus, Sir Edward is an artist of sound technique and of rare ability to impart to his hearers his own feelings. He interpreted also two of his orchestral compositions, the concert overture, "In the South," and an "Introduction and Allegro" for strings. If a man should declare Elgar the greatest figure to-day among the composers who are guiding the development of music, he could give good reasons for his opinion. An interesting comparison might be drawn between him and the modern German school represented by Strauss on the one hand, and the modern French school represented by d'Indy on the other. One quality his music has in great distinction—wholesomeness, sanity, artistic sincerity. It might be termed a quality of artistic morals. It is especially grateful in these days.

Though the presence of Sir Edward Elgar was the most obviously notable feature of the festival, it was not the only one that distinguished this festival from those that have preceded it. This week of music was a remarkable exhibition of the city's character. It would have been impossible in a city like New York. If anything of the sort were attempted proportionately in New York, it would require the assembling daily for five days, and twice on one of those days, of an audience of thirty to forty thousand. It would mean the use of a music hall of the combined capacity of Madison Square Garden, the Hippodrome, the Metropolitan Opera-House, Carnegie Hall, and five of New York's largest theaters. It would mean the concentration of the social life of the five boroughs for the week to a degree impossible in the metropolis. In New York, with all its opera, its scores upon scores of concerts, its wealth of musical

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resources, music must of necessity be at any time but one of a great number of subsidiary interests. There are cities, however, where music can for a time dominate. Some years ago, when St. Patrick's Day or Patriots' Day or some other holiday fell on a Friday, there was a long procession in Boston. Two ladies were anxious to attend the Symphony "rehearsal," as the afternoon concert is called. They found, however, to their dismay, that their way was barred. The street was closed; the Hibernians or the Ancient and Honorable Artillery had the right of way; the ladies could not get across. They appealed to a policeman.

"Sorry, ladies; the crossing's closed."

"But we're going to the Symphony—"

"Sure, ma'am;" and he gallantly escorted them through the crowd, across the street.

Thus in a congenial community music may rule. For this week it ruled in Cincinnati—and for weeks before. The dominance of the festival in Cincinnati's life was demonstrated by the way the city met the emergency. The emergency was created by the death of Theodore Thomas. A generation ago he had established the festival, forming it out of materials furnished by the German singing societies; and ever since then he had directed it. In one sense the festival was the handiwork of one man. Then came his death. What of the future? Naturally there was a difference of opinion. How seriously the city counted the festival was shown by the vigor of the controversy. There are not many cities that can be divided as was Cincinnati over a question of art. It was necessary in the crisis to reorganize the forces. The loss of Mr. Thomas meant the loss of many of his resources. Others were supplied. An orchestra, which, on the whole, was competent, was formed; a highly effective chorus was trained. The people met the emergency with spirit and ultimate good sense. It was proved that the city could itself carry on the institution.

What that means to Cincinnati and to a vast region surrounding it, and therefore to the entire Nation, it would not be easy to say. The function of the festival is primarily educational. It is a power for the maintenance of high musical standards. Each biennial festival occasions the distribution of what may be called festival literature. This year, for example, there were: an official analytical programme, a book of 165 pages, containing, besides the ordinary lists of names and the like, biographical sketches of the composers and an extended and ably written commentary upon the compositions, illustrated by musical quotations of themes; a more detailed analysis of each of the two choral works by Elgar; a festival number of the musical paper published by the College of Music of Cincinnati and devoted to criticisms and explanations of the works to be performed and to other information of value; a shorter official programme containing brief expository notes; a special musical directory for the music teachers and other professional musicians attending the festival; and, of course, daily comment of varying value in the newspapers. Moreover, for the charming and musicianly children's cantata by the Flemish composer Benoit, and for the pretentious "festival prologue" by the director of the festival, Mr. Van der Stucken, a chorus of a thousand schoolchildren was trained to a high degree of efficiency. It is easy to imagine what the festival means in the musical education of those boys and girls.

The first concert, consisting of a Bach cantata, selections from the close of "Die Walkyrie," and Brahms's majestic "German Requiem," was a memorial to Mr. Thomas. And the death in England of Sir Edward's father early in the week also gave to the performance of "The Dream of Gerontius," which is a picture of the soul's first experience in the world beyond the grave, the character of a personal memorial offered by the composer. The whole festival, indeed, whether intentionally or not, seemed designed to be an expression of the range of emotions caused by death, ending in a proclamation of joyful faith and courage.

It is wrong to judge our cities, as we are apt to do, almost solely by their political and commercial life. Boss rule and even revolt from boss rule are not the only measure of a city's ideals.

E. H. A.

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THE PANAMA CANAL

BY JOHN FOSTER CARR

Third Paper

The Work of the Sanitary Force

UPON the successful work of the Department of Health and Sanitation depends the success of the whole Canal enterprise. It should precede all other work, and it must accompany every new step. Consider its immense importance. Our Republic would never permit the Canal to be dug at all if it were to cost the lives that it cost the French; and in the eventual failure of our sanitary work there would be menace for nearly half the world. Unless yellow fever were stamped out utterly at Panama before the completion of the Canal, there would be the gravest danger that when the large direct traffic began to pass through it, our Western scourge might be introduced into the thickly populated countries of the Far East. With such a catastrophe as that nothing could be compared except the Black Death that ravaged Europe in the seventeenth century.

To undertake this important work the President designated Colonel Gorgas, the man who had applied the great discoveries of Finlay, Reed, and Carter, and in eight months had extirpated yellow fever from Havana, where it had been endemic for one hundred and forty years. The problem was immediately studied with Major Gillette, one of our ablest sanitary engineers. A report was prepared submitting plans for the complete sanitation of Colon and Panama and the entire Zone, under the superintendence of three sanitary engineers. This report was straightway pigeonholed, its recommendations neglected, and the Department of Health made an adjunct of the Department of Government. Acting without general powers, all progress hung upon the outcome of repeated conferences and references. In spite of the clearest treaty rights and the urgency of the duty, authority for doing sanitary work in Colon and Panama was not granted until February, 1905. But for this incompetence of the Walker Commission and these delays, there is no apparent reason why yellow fever should not have been exterminated on the Isthmus at least as quickly as in Havana, and the deaths and horror of last year's panic been saved.

Other work, meanwhile, was being pushed; men were being brought to the Isthmus, finally, by the ship-load, and the necessities of the Engineering Department became paramount. By the time the new Commission was appointed the general work of construction and preparation for excavation had acquired such momentum that it was impossible for the Sanitary Department to be given the rightful place of first importance. But by the active help of Governor

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Magoon, by endless concessions and compromises, by accepting such supplies and labor as could be had, the work was carried on, but always in the face of difficulties of many kinds.

Popular ignorance and incredulity are one obstacle. The natives are immune, and look with no friendly eye upon the annoyance of fumigation, which is for the benefit of the *Americano* alone. The most that can be hoped for from them is that they will not hinder the work. Stranger than this is the frequent indifference of the white, except in the presence of an epidemic. It is indifference to hard facts, for the proof that the yellow fever parasite is carried by the *Stegomyia* mosquito, with its minute, repulsive, repeated experiments, reads like a demonstration in geometry. The proof that it is conveyed only by the mosquito is almost as strong as negative proof can be. On one point I asked Colonel Gorgas for a further reason. "Why should the Stegomyia alone carry the germ?" He replied by asking: "Why should the egg of the tapeworm that infests swine be immediately digested in the human stomach and not in the hog's?" The proof of theory is practice, and yellow fever so uniformly disappears when the infected mosquitoes are destroyed that Colonel Gorgas believes it to be quite within the bounds of possibility to extirpate the fever entirely in the few places in the world where it is endemic. The parasite would then be extinct, and yellow fever no more likely to recur on the earth than the great auk. Astonishing success in dealing with the fever has made this hope reasonable; and yet I know the head of a department who used a net only at the height of the epidemic, when he felt the force of public opinion. And I have met an old-fashioned physician, and a clergyman, a university graduate, who scoff at the mosquito theory and argue that both yellow fever and malaria are caused by some kind of "miasma." And this in face of some of the greatest discoveries of modern medicine, for if science has proved anything, "miasma" is as obsolete a word as the medical jargon of Galen.

White indifference—few people will take quinine regularly—native obstruction, and Jamaican stupidity are again met with in the war on malaria, and the suppression of malaria is a much more difficult matter. The yellow fever patient can infect the mosquito only during two or three days, and though the mosquito, always a female, retains the power of infection probably during her entire life of five months, she usually remains within the house where she obtained the poison, and her destruction is easy. But in malaria, though the mosquito retains the infection only a limited time, the body of man is almost a permanent host for the parasite, and the malarial *Anopheles* flies so much further that fumigation is not so effective. In the result so many people have the fever and the mosquito is so industrious in carrying it from one to another that it is nearly impossible to avoid exposure to the disease. But with very ordinary care an attack is rarely severe, and in most cases means no worse an indisposition than a cold in the North. The one serious feature of the Isthmian fever is the unescapable chance of recurrrence.

The destruction of breeding-places and the use of screens, nets, and quinine have proved effective to free Suez entirely from malaria. Success depends on work and money, and these same means should serve on the Isthmus. On the Isthmus, however, the Sanitary Department has a more difficult task. The *Anopheles* feeds here occasionally by day as well as by night, and though the illiterate white and others not so ignorant can be persuaded to tolerate screens and nets, the negro laborer is not so tractable. He will nail open a screen door or throw a rock or a stool through the copper net covering the window. Only an armed guard, the doctors say, could prevent his doing this, as only actual force could compel many of the timid and superstitious Martiniquans to go to the hospital. Here is involved one of the great problems in the building of the Canal, and a new means of control must be devised, for some form of malaria makes up eighty per cent. of all the hospital cases. This would spell the ruin of the whole work if it were not that the mortality is extremely low, and the negro more easily

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inured to the disease than the white man.

The work of the Health Department will not be finished until the Canal is finished, and its perfection is as important to-day as it was at the beginning. There is probably little virtue now remaining in the old plans, for most of the really vital problems have already been worked out or are in a process of solution adapted to to-day's conditions. But the Department still needs greater power and authority and a more clearly defined and direct responsibility. To cite an instance to point this necessity and show what I mean by lack of "team work:" As an experiment in labor, 270 Spaniards, Gallegos, were brought from Cuba to the Isthmus and stationed on February 4 and 6 in camp at Lirio near the Great Cut. Their quarters lay close by mosquito-breeding swamps and were without screens and bars. Toward the end of the first fortnight they began to fall ill of the fever, and by March 5, or within exactly four weeks, 165 of them, or over 61 per cent., had been treated in hospital—practically all of them for malaria. The Chief Sanitary Officer had no sooner protested to the Chief Engineer than the Gallegos were moved to a better camp without a day's delay, and everything possible was done to retrieve the error. Here is an example, and the worst example I know, of the lack of efficient co-operative organization. With good "team work" the Department of Health would be consulted about the quartering of new laborers. With the proper co-operative division of duties the Department of Health would have an absolute veto on camp sites and would be notified of every proposed change of quarters.

Colon may well stand typically as an example of the labors we are accomplishing on the Isthmus by skill, persistence, and the sheer effort of many hands. The difficulties are typical, too—exasperating some of them, most of them unavoidable—a few peculiar to Colon alone. One evening I heard that road work was halted for lack of gravel. The Panama Railroad, overburdened with its normal traffic and the frantic demands of other departments, had failed them. There were generous supplies of earth for filling, but not another car-load of gravel could be had—perhaps for days. Another day, after the noon breakfast, as I accompanied the Health Officer on his rounds, a foreman told us that thirty laborers had "knocked off work" because they could not get their pay. Investigation showed that the pay-roll had been held five days in Panama for audits, of which even Washington red-tape affords no precedent.

The slaughter-house was another difficulty. At my first visit I found vultures by the hundred—"the voluntary brigade of the Sanitary men"—devouring the offal that washed up on the beach in front of a half-dozen fishers' huts. Colon hospital was less than a half-mile away. On inquiry I learned that time after time complaint had been made to the authorities. As in most Spanish-American cities, there are political wheels within wheels in Colon, and the Alcalde, for all his good will, could take no active measures to abate the nuisance. Thanks to the patience and ingenuity of the Health Officer, conditions are vastly improved, but the abuse still remained one week ago. Nor is this all. A number of the cattle I saw in the pens could not possibly have passed our inspectors for butchering—one was certainly diseased and one was a tuberculosis suspect. Eight of them had been standing from Monday until Friday without water. And yet I have the highest legal authority for saying that our treaty rights are ample for the regulation of both these matters. We do not use the power we have because conciliation is the order of the day.

These are types of the usual difficulties. Some are quickly passing away. The railroad is rapidly receiving its new rolling stock, the double tracking will be finished during the summer, and the extreme pressure on the service will be relieved. The Local Auditor's Office has just been merged with the Disbursing Office under the charge of a competent business man, and a welcome rumor is afloat that Congress proposes to improve the situation further by abolishing the office of the General Auditor. For the evils of conciliation no deliverance is in sight.

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Our treatment of Colon is the Commission's worst sin—it is largely an inherited sin, and it is unfair to minimize the splendid work that has been done; it is unfair to exaggerate what has been left undone. Criticism should be leveled at the lack of a comprehensive plan of filling in and completely sewering the entire town under the direction of competent sanitary engineers. This is not so great a task as might appear, for the whole of Colon measures only ninety-six acres, and there is hardly a stone building within its limits. Nor should there be any delay in undertaking the work, for, in spite of what the Health Department has done, Colon to-day seems to invite an epidemic of typhoid. It is true that typhoid is rare on the Isthmus, but our army found it deadly in Cuba, and tropical medicine is so new a science that for very safety Colon should be put in a condition that would be regarded as sanitary by Northern standards. No matter what the type of canal, or what the ultimate fate of Colon, it must still be inhabited for many years after the Canal is finished. Besides, the duty comes nearer home than we have realized. Colon is, indeed, without the Zone and under the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama. But with the exception of a few lots—some belonging to the Panamanian Government, some to the Catholic Church—the United States owns the entire town in fee simple, and, through the Panama Railroad, by a strange paradox, is also its lessee.

Over against the blame of an imperfect plan, and the difficulty of a sanitary problem more complex than can be easily imagined, there should be set the wonders accomplished by the men on the ground. The long drainage canal has been completed; whole streets have been laid in macadam; hundreds of lots have been raised to level; there is not a back yard but what has been scraped clear of its high-piled rubbish; the work of the mosquito brigade now includes every house; the outlying swamps have been cleared of their jungle and burned; by the time this is in print the new temporary water supply will be installed, and this will be sufficient to serve the town until the next dry season, when the new aqueduct will be ready. Best of all, last night's paper boasts that the general health in Colon has never been so good as now.

The Department gives Colon a bare fourth of the labor of its little army of 2,300 men. There are several ways of measuring its aggregate activities on the Isthmus. There are the 360 miles of ditches dug, cleaned, or graded this past year; there are the 3,200 odd acres cleared of jungle and deep grass, the 7,000 houses fumigated, and so on and so on. Then there is the test of results: the disappearance of yellow fever, the better general health that the doctors and engineers can prove to you, the death-rate, which is now within a fraction of 25 per thousand—nominally the same as that of Memphis, Tennessee, actually higher because of the greater mortality among infants and the aged in a normal city, but still low for the tropics, where nature is not only the prolific mother of life, but a terrible destroyer. And, last of all, there is what you see in the men: the vigorous, healthful look almost universal among those who work out-of-doors; true even of a majority of the clerks, very many of whom do taxing overtime work and never have a Saturday half-holiday. They are not afraid of the fever; they do not talk or think of being ill. The Sanitary Department is expensive—a single fumigation of the Administration building costs $700; the bills for labor are high; but no money has been more wisely or honestly spent on the Isthmus.

Panama, April 4, 1906.

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THE CALEDONIA MINE: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT

BY ARTHUR COOK

FOUNDED and for a time operated on Socialistic principles, not yet entirely free of these, although many of the original plans of organization have been found impractical, the Caledonia coal mine, located within the limits of the city of Saginaw, Michigan, offers interesting ground for study as a sociological experiment. This mine occupies a unique position in the mining world. A similar plan has, in a few instances, been put into execution in other branches of labor, but probably no other mine of the kind exists in the world.

The Caledonia is, as its retail wagons boast, "the workingman's mine." It is a mine organized and put into operation by ordinary miners, with little or no capital, and in the face of the opposition of a most powerful "trust" backed by the chief railroads. Starting in a small way about a year and a half ago, it has rapidly grown and prospered until to-day, although the original shaft has not yet been fully developed, the mine is firmly established on a solid business basis and is literally overwhelmed with orders.

To understand fully what the Caledonia mine is, and what it has done, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the conditions prevailing before its organization. About ten years ago the people of the Saginaw Valley began to realize the possibilities of their coal fields. These were hailed with great satisfaction. The lumber industries, for which the valley was once famous, had for some years been declining and then were suddenly destroyed by unfavorable tariff laws. With lumber went the manufacture of salt, and the valley was face to face with the first great crisis of its existence. Cheap fuel would bring new industries, and thus restore to the valley that old and vigorous life which seemed for a time to have departed forever. All looked forward to a boom, but, although the valley has been slowly recovering from its period of depression and is again making substantial growth, no boom ever came, simply because cheap fuel never materialized. Coal is being mined in large quantities throughout the valley, some of it even within the city limits, and in such close promixity to public buildings that the latter have begun to settle in consequence. But practically at no time has the price been reduced. Combinations among the operators have, in some instances, kept the local rate even higher than that prevailing outside. Usually the retail price has started in the fall at $4 or thereabouts, and has risen, with the advance of the season, to $4.50 per ton.

Up to a few months ago there were two main coal companies or combinations of coal companies in the vicinity of Saginaw—the Consolidated Coal Company and the Saginaw Coal Company. These had leased practically all the known available coal land, and were paying advance royalties on such as they were not actually mining. Among the land thus controlled was a little tract of forty acres in the southern portion of the city. One of the big companies controlled the land all around this, and under the circumstances, as it seemed that a tract that size would hardly be of use to another company, it was decided to save the advance royalties by allowing the lease to lapse.

In some way several miners became apprised of the fact that the little tract of land was no longer leased. At least one of these had drilled the forty acres for test purposes, and had some idea of their actual value. These men conceived the idea of the Caledonia Company, and set about its organization with all secrecy and despatch. An optional lease on the property was taken out, promises of support and subscriptions for stock were

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secured, and it was only when the work of sinking the shaft had actually begun that the formation of the company became known. Thus the property was snatched from under the very nose of the big company.

The leaders of this movement were themselves Socialists and firm believers in the doctrines of Socialism; consequently the plan of the Caledonia Company was worked out on Socialistic principles. The company was to consist of one hundred men, each of whom had subscribed for ten shares of stock at ten dollars a share—a total capitalization of ten thousand dollars. Every man was to have the same rights and interest in the mine as every other, contribute the same, and receive the same returns.

On July 22, 1905, although the organization had not yet been perfected, the work of sinking the shaft was begun. About sixty-five persons had subscribed for stock. Few of these had paid in; some expected to pay in labor. Thus, all told, in actual cash the company possessed only about one hundred and seventy-five dollars. But every stockholder assisted in sinking the shaft. Every man had an equal share in the company, and was actually working for himself. The finest spirit and enthusiasm prevailed, the work was rushed, and the shaft was sunk with extraordinary rapidity to its present depth of one hundred and sixty-five feet. On September 1 coal was sold from the new mine, which was destined to play an important part in the coal situation of the valley. But progress in clearing away the rock and waste to supply proper entries and put the mine in good condition for operating was necessarily slow, and it was some time before the Caledonia was prepared for regular business.

Meanwhile the great coal companies of the valley paid little attention to the new mine, and advanced their price to the regular winter figure of $4.50 per ton. As soon as their mine was in proper condition, the Caledonia people put coal on the market at $4.25. The other coal companies were furious, and at a meeting with the Caledonia representatives the operators presented their ultimatum:

"You have got to come up to our figure of $4.50. You have a little forty-acre patch of ground with an undeveloped mine. You have no capital, but are dependent on the returns from your coal to carry on the development of your mine. You know the price of life. What are you going to do about it?"

For answer the Caledonia dropped the price to $4, then to $3.50—just a dollar under the operators' price. "We can put out coal at this price and still make a decent profit," the miners said. "We are workingmen, not thieves. The public is our best friend, and we propose to stand by it."

When this action of the Caledonia became known, the operators were prompt with their answer. One of the companies rushed several cars of coal to the south end of the city, which it sold, from a point almost directly in front of the Caledonia mine, at the startling price of $1.75. The whole affair was suppressed as far as possible. The move was intended to bring the little group of miners to their senses, and immediate effect was anticipated. For the greater share of the Caledonia coal was sold in the vicinity of the mine, and by selling from this point, secretly, the operators expected to cut off their rival's customers without reaching their own in the city at large.

These conditions lasted two days. In the meantime the Caledonia people had not yet yielded or shown any signs of doing so. Not only this, but the public stood by them, and the demand for Caledonia coal was greater than the little mine could supply. The general public had learned of the $1.75 coal, meanwhile, and the customers taking advantage of the price were largely those the operators least desired. It was evident that a different move was necessary. Accordingly, the general retail price for the whole city was dropped to $3—fifty cents below that of the Caledonia—where it has since remained.

The Caledonia coal has remained at the old price, $3.50, and there are enough people who appreciate the fact that the present low prices are due directly to the influence of the so-called Socialist mine, who realize that this is the key to the coal situation, and who

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appreciate the efforts, the originality and perseverance of the workers thereof, to keep them piled far ahead with orders.

The operators boasted last fall that the little mine was powerless, that it was too small and had too little influence to affect prices. "Do you people, with a little forty-acre mine, think for an instant that you can fix our prices?" one of the operators asked. This is actually what has been done. The operators have been forced to drop their prices $1.50 per ton, and at the end of the season the little Socialist mine is stronger than ever before, with advance orders enough already to keep it running all summer.

The strike this spring has also proved most fortunate for the Caledonia mine, although it has brought new problems to the other miners and their organizations. Shortly before the expiration of the old agreement between miners and operators, it was announced that the Caledonia would continue to operate. The Michigan miners are, of course, thrown out with the general bituminous strike this spring. The Caledonia is the only coal mine in the State which has been operated since the first of April. Consequently, although only permanent customers have been taken care of, the mine has been greatly assisted in its struggle.

So far the miners have shown excellent judgment. They have treated their customers fairly, openly, and honestly, and this fact is appreciated. In addition nature has smiled on their efforts, for, although the bigger operators are working the same vein of coal on both sides of it, the coal at the particular location of the Caledonia mine actually contains less sulphur and iron than at perhaps any other point in the valley, and is, consequently, of higher quality.

Those most influential in organizing the Caledonia Company, as well as the greater number of the original members, were professed Socialists and firm believers in Socialistic doctrines. Naturally, their beliefs found expression in the plan of the new company, and several principles new in the Michigan mining world were introduced.

The company is really a little democracy in itself, or, more properly, the freest kind of republic, for it is a representative government with every opportunity for reference back to the main body. The details of the work are left in the hands of a Board of Managers, but this is at all times accountable to, and liable to be overruled by, the miners as a whole, the general body. The details of the mine itself are in the hands of the superintendent. Appeal may be taken from his decision to the Board of Managers at any time, however, and from this back again to the general body.

The members of the company as miners are paid regular wages, by the company, from the money secured from the sale of the coal. Whatever profit remains over and above this is later paid out to the miners in the form of dividends. So far, however, all the profits have been retained and put into developing the mine, so that really all the miners have received is the amount of their wages.

At the outset every member of the Caledonia Company was on an equal footing, theoretically, at all times, with every other member. Each had invested exactly the same amount; consequently each was to receive an equal share of the profits and equal wages. Respecting the dividends this was equitable and natural distribution, as each man controlled the same amount of stock. The error of the scheme lay in the arrangement regarding wages, and this was the first Socialistic principle to be eradicated. Considered from a purely monetary basis the scheme was fair enough, perhaps, but it soon became evident that a man's mining assets were not confined to the amount of stock he held. The practical miner's experience and ability made his services of greater value to the company than those of the fireman or pusher. Both were investing their services in the company, and the more valuable services were entitled to the greater remuneration. The idea that every man in the mine must be tied down by the fireman became intolerable, and the necessary change was made.

The men now receive wages largely according to the Michigan scale, although with some differences in scale and appli-

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cation. The scale is applied to the coal "mine run"—a concession which united labor has been vainly endeavoring to secure from the Michigan operators for some time. In addition it is applied to a thirty-six-inch vein of coal, whereas in other mines the scale is based on a thirty-inch vein, which is much more difficult to work. Day men, cagers, and pushers receive ten cents per diem over the scale. But three men in the company receive regular salaries—the mine superintendent, the secretary and sales manager, and one weigher. The minimum wages paid is $2.01; the average is about $2.75. This is considerably above the Michigan scale.

Originally it was planned by those in charge to divide the mine into one hundred equal parts, and to assign to each member of the company one of these as his own. This he was to mine himself at his own pleasure, and from the coal contained therein he was to receive his returns from the mine. The shaft, entries, etc., were to be worked in common, but the greater body of the coal was to be mined individually. Thus the better and more energetic workmen would realize first on their labor.

Press of work was largely responsible for the fact that this project was never carried out. Orders piled in on the little mine, and in their haste to take advantage of the prosperous season the miners had little time left to work out a chimerical scheme of this sort. The plan will never be revived again, as the miners realize that it can never be worked out satisfactorily. The change in the management also had something to do with the death of the project, as the old leaders who had been favoring it went out in disgrace.

And thereby hangs a tale. For at one time the Caledonia nearly fell by the wayside with internal troubles. It was found that some of the originators of the company were running it entirely for their own benefit. Instead of the equal distribution which had been harped on as one of the main features of the organization, these men controlled excessively large blocks of the stock. In addition it developed that one of them had taken out the lease to the property in his own name, and was receiving an additional royalty of two cents for every ton of coal mined. The other miners quietly organized among themselves and put the matter in the hands of a capable attorney, with the result that the offending members were ousted and compelled to forfeit their stock, which was distributed among the remainder. Since that time the affairs of the company have been most capably managed, and the little mine has come through the winter and the trying time of a general strike throughout the country with flying colors.

The Caledonia is the only mine in the State of Michigan which is unaffected by labor troubles, or which is not closed down pending the signing of a new scale. The company knows no differences between miners and operators. What is for the interests of one is for the interests of the other, for every man is at once miner and operator. The course of the mine in keeping open during the strike has been approved not only by the miners of the Michigan district but by President Mitchell himself.

But this feature of the case has raised new difficulties for the United Mine Workers. With no other similar mine in the country, the Caledonia presents an absolutely new and unique situation, and one with which the other miners have been at a loss to cope.

Shortly before the expiration of the old agreement the Caledonia mine announced that it would be unaffected, and that it would continue to mine coal, strike or no strike. This excited the immediate hostility of the operators, and elicited the threat that, in case the Caledonia should continue to operate during the strike, non-union men would be introduced into the other mines of the valley. The threat was never carried out, but it caused considerable uneasiness to the Michigan miners.

Accordingly, at the annual meeting of the Michigan district of the United Mine Workers, the question was raised as to the status of the Caledonia mine. The Executive Committee wrestled with the problem and proved unable to find a satisfactory answer. A special committee was appointed, and when at length this reported, the battle was fought out again

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on the floor of the convention. It was finally decided that the members of the Caledonia Company must be classified as operators, as they were in direct competition with the operators, the employers of the other miners, with whom, rather than with the Caledonia, the interests of the latter lay. At the same time a resolution was passed to the effect that united labor should not interfere with the little mine as long as it was run on union principles. Up to this time the Caledonia had formed a local of its own. The charter of this has now been revoked and the mine is no longer recognized by the United Mine Workers.

But, in spite of everything, internal knavery, "trust" opposition, and repudiation by the United Mine Workers, the Caledonia has continued to prosper. So successful, indeed, has it been that at a recent meeting of the stockholders it was decided greatly to enlarge the company. The capital stock is to be increased from the present $50,000 to $250,000, which will raise the number of men composing the company from one hundred to five hundred. Some six hundred acres of coal have been leased, and the work of locating one of the shafts for this has already begun. As fast as new men can be used they will be admitted to the company until the entire stock is subscribed for. The present stockholders will continue to work the old Caledonia mine, the new men taking care of the new shafts.

Only practical miners are admitted, and every stockholder must do actual work in the mine. At present there is but one member of the company, the secretary and sales manager, not actually employed at the mine. The Caledonia is naturally drawing the best class of miners in the State. The freedom and independence attached to the work, the high wages and the prospect of still further returns in the form of dividends, are extremely desirable, and the list of applications for stock is a long and constantly increasing one.

The Caledonia mine is an important step in the struggle of labor for social and industrial liberty. It represents the efforts of some of the more enterprising of the miners to secure relief from capital oppression; to work, not for others, but for themselves; to become industrially independent. But the Caledonia is not yet beyond the possibility of disruption. The inequality of wages, or any one of a number of similar points, may bring about an internal revolution. But although changes in the details and principles of the government are being made from time to time, no general dissatisfaction with the main plan has yet arisen, nor has there been any difficulty in reaching agreements. There are some who question the ability of such an organization to exist. But this much the history of the mine has developed—the downfall of the Caledonia can come only from internal dissension.

What Michigan miners have done in the Caledonia mine others can do elsewhere, and the same plan can be extended to other branches of labor. Already another company has been formed along similar lines, and the enthusiasm of the miners argues for the formation of still others in the near future.

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A NOTABLE INSTANCE OF THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

IT is not often that one finds a colored man acting in the capacity of Mayor of a city of 208,000 inhabitants, yet when I visited Toronto, Canada, not very long ago, I found that for two months during last summer a negro had occupied that position while the regular Mayor was absent in Europe. The man to whom I refer is the Hon. William P. Hubbard, President of the Board of Control, which in Toronto is the Mayor's cabinet. As the highest officer in the cabinet, Mr. Hubbard becomes acting Mayor when the regular Mayor is away.

It has been my habit for some years past to take note, in the course of my travels about the country, of those members of my race who, by the exercise of those common virtues that are within reach of the humblest man, have achieved some sort of success and made themselves respected in the communities in which they live.

I have taken particular note of these men because their successes indicate possibilities that are open to the great majority of black men in this country, and because I believe these men, as a class, represent a new type that is coming into existence among the people of my race. The class of men to which I refer do not belong to the ignorant proletariat who are without property and without self-respect, neither do they aspire to belong to the professional and literary classes in which success is ordinarily gained by those who have some special talent for that sort of labor. They constitute rather a sober, industrious, thrifty, self-respecting middle class—a class which is the backbone of every race and every people that has successfully entered into and become a part of our modern industrial civilization.

William P. Hubbard, Comptroller of the city of Toronto, has been for twelve years, first as Alderman and then as Comptroller, a member of the city legislature of Toronto. Although during this time he has given his attention almost exclusively to the work of a political office, he represents in an exceptional way the class of practical negro business men to which I have referred. I have met men of this class in nearly all the various vocations of life. They are farmers, tradesmen, business men, contractors, and bankers, and comparatively few of them have had the opportunity of college education; most of them have made their way up from the humblest walks of life, and have gained success, not because of any exceptional talent which would have placed them at the outset in a class by themselves, but merely through patient and persistent effort, meeting obstacles and overcoming them cheerfully, courageously, day by day and week by week.

Mr. Hubbard was born in Toronto in 1848. His parents, who were of African, Anglo-Saxon, and Indian parentage, came from Richmond, Virginia, in 1844. His father, Mosley Hubbard, died at an advanced age in Toronto in the year 1897. He was said to be one hundred years old at his death. Both of young Hubbard's parents were free. His father brought with him eight hundred dollars in cash, which he had earned as a carver in a Richmond hotel and afterwards at the Niagara House at Niagara Falls. Mr. Hubbard remembers his father as a sober, reserved man, who never smoked or drank. His mother, on the contrary, was of the opposite disposition, genial, sympathetic, and fond of company. Mr. Hubbard seems to have combined the qualities of both his parents. He has the easy and friendly manners of his mother, but he has also a vein of sober earnestness which has enabled him to gain in an unusual degree the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens.

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Coming to Toronto, Mr. Hubbard's father and mother rented a little piece of land on the outskirts of the city, where they kept for many years a market-garden. After a time the elder Hubbard obtained work in the city as a pork-packer, but the garden was kept by Mrs. Hubbard and the children. Mr. Hubbard was born in 1848 on this place in a little cabin in which the family was then living.

Both father and mother made every effort to give all their children a common school education. Fortunately for him, young Hubbard obtained the good will of Colonel Robert Wells, who was much interested at that time in the welfare of the colored people who, coming from the United States, settled in that part of the Dominion. He sent him to what was known as the "Model School," a kind of high school well known in Toronto. After leaving school he was apprenticed to a baker by the name of John Kerr. He served his term as apprentice and journeyman, and was for eight years foreman of the shop. Ill health compelled him to give up this work, and he went into the livery business with his brother Alexander. In this business they prospered. Mr. Hubbard put his money into real estate. He built three cottages and two houses at this time, and has continued to invest his money in this and other ways until he owns at present fifteen houses and a store and pays taxes on about thirty-six thousand dollars' worth of real estate.

In 1894 Mr. Hubbard was elected to the position of Alderman from the Tenth Ward. In this election there was no question of party or color, but merely of fitness to serve the people of that ward. In this ward there are fifty thousand white people and sixteen colored. "I got all the colored votes," said Mr. Hubbard, "but they were not sufficient to elect me." From that time to the present Mr. Hubbard has been continuously a member of the city legislature, either as Alderman or Comptroller. As soon as he was elected to the office he set himself at once to making himself thoroughly master of all the details of the city's business. His interest and knowledge of the problems of city government have grown steadily from that time, until he seems to have become generally recognized as the most competent man in the city government and the man who has the best record.

I took the pains to inquire, while I was in Toronto, from newspaper men, business men, and others whom I met, as to Mr. Hubbard's standing in the community. Mr. J. C. Hamilton, an attorney and a writer, who has interested himself for some years in the history and progress of the negro race, said: "Hubbard has about the best record of any Alderman we have. I should not wonder if he would be Mayor some day." The same opinion was expressed by several others with whom I spoke. That this is pretty generally the opinion of the people of Toronto is attested by the fact that at the last election he headed the poll in the vote for Comptroller, receiving 15,035 votes. As Comptroller Mr. Hubbard is a member of the Mayor's cabinet, and is elected, like the Mayor, by the city at large.

Mr. Hubbard has a reputation outside of the city of Toronto and throughout the Province of Ontario. He is President of the Ontario Municipal Association. At the time of his election last year the "Canadian Journal" said of him:

> The new President, Comptroller W. P. Hubbard, of Toronto, is one of the well-known enthusiasts in municipal work all over Canada. Feeling that he has enough of this world's goods, Mr. Hubbard determined to devote himself to serving his fellow-citizens in municipal matters, and has given loyal service, not only to his own city of Toronto, but to the Province of Ontario and the Dominion generally.
>
> Entering the City Council of Toronto in 1894, he this year attains his majority as a member of that body, for the citizens have shown their appreciation of his disinterested and valuable services by keeping him in office, first as an Alderman, then as Comptroller for one section, and now as Comptroller elected by the general vote of the whole city. He has served as Chairman of the Fire and Light Committee, and did splendid work there. As Chairman of the Island Committee he is credited with the concrete sidewalk and many other improvements. He has sat on the Harbor Board, the Technical School Board, Victoria Industrial School Board, and on that of the Children's Aid Society.
>
> He is now Vice-Chairman of the Board of Control, the Mayor being the Chairman.

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He has been an attentive and active member of the Ontario Municipal Association, and was elected a member of the Executive Committee at the first meeting.

This year the Association has elected him to the presidency, and under his guidance there is no doubt of a successful year.

An interesting fact about Mr. Hubbard's career is that he has made way in political life not as a colored man or as a party man, but simply as an efficient administrator. When I asked him to what he attributed his success, he said: "It is very simple. As soon as I became a member of the City Council I made it my business to know, as far as I was able, all there was to know about the affairs that came before me for consideration. I found that to do this meant that I must make a business of city government, and in recent years I have given all my time to that work." Mr. Hubbard's success is due to no special gift nor to any particular good fortune, but merely to tact, intelligence, and an unusually persistent effort on his part to do the work that was set before him as well as it was possible to do it.

The point which seems to be particularly important is that Mr. Hubbard represents a large and growing class among the members of my race, who silently and patiently, by deeds rather than by words, are doing much to solve the problem which the presence of the white and black races on this continent has created.

RECENT EVENTS IN ENGLAND

BY EDWARD PORRITT

FOR fourteen years past it has been my custom to visit England every two years; but on no visit have I found the English people more politically hopeful than they are in these spring days of 1906. In making this remark I am speaking not so much of the statesmen and politicians at Westminster as of the men and women in the constituencies who are not continuously in active political work. Everywhere it is realized that the general election has marked the end of the political reaction which had been going on in England more or less from the Liberal split over Home Rule in 1886, and that an era of progress in political and social movement has begun, with fewer obstacles in the way than at any period in the lifetime of the present generation of Englishmen. I was living in England in 1884 and 1885, and I remember that the Liberals went into the general election of 1885—that which followed the extension of the franchise to the wage-earning classes in rural England—with much of the hopefulness that characterizes English political thought to-day. But the election of 1885 brought Home Rule to the front; Home Rule divided and paralyzed the Liberal party; with the result that, except for the short-lived Parliaments of 1885–6 and 1892–5, the Tories were continuously in power until the end of 1905. To-day English Liberals in the constituencies are giving themselves little or no concern about Home Rule, because for the first time in seventy or eighty years the Liberal party in the House of Commons is absolutely independent of the Irish vote. It was Gladstone's influence that carried so large a part of the Liberal party for Home Rule in 1886. It was loyalty to Gladstone rather than conviction that Home Rule was right—right for England and Scotland as well as for Ireland—that brought about the Home Rule movements in Parliament in 1886 and 1893, and since Gladstone's disappearance from English political life the Home Rule movement, even among Liberals, has been continuously falling into the background. During my present visit I have never heard Home Rule referred to by Liberals, except for occasional expressions of satisfaction that it was out of the way, and that the Liberal party was consequently in a position to devote itself to measures of constitutional reform and social progress which have fallen so much into arrears during the twenty years while Liberalism was divided and impotent. I have also found that in respect to

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these reforms there is very little nervousness about the attitude of the House of Lords. English people who take an interest in politics are usually well informed as to the nineteenth-century history and traditions of the Upper Chamber. They recall the fact that the House of Lords has never made a stand against legislation which it knew was demanded by the country; and with the enormous majority behind the Liberal Government, with the weak and divided condition of the Tory party in the House of Commons, and the absence of any strong Tory leader in the House of Lords, Liberals are convinced that the new Government will encounter but little obstruction from the hereditary chamber. I have met socially both Tories and Liberals. Among men who voted with the Opposition at the general election I find a loyalty to Chamberlain which is to me astonishing. I can only account for it by the fact that people realize that Chamberlain represents a policy, and a policy which every man can understand, even though he may not indorse and support it. For Mr. Balfour I find no such loyalty. His former supporters—those who voted for him in 1900—do not trouble to make even explanations or apologies; and I am convinced that if Mr. Balfour had decided to stay out of political life until the time comes when he could be made a peer, there would have been no regret among the rank and file of the Tories in the constituencies. Mr. Balfour had great opportunities; and in the early days of the Parliament of 1900–1905 his supporters in and out of Parliament entertained great expectations with regard to him. Now the feeling is that he failed to make anything of his opportunities, and that he fulfilled none of the popular expectations when he succeeded Salisbury as Premier.

As soon as I found myself in London I was eager to get a look at the new House of Commons from the reporters' gallery, from which nearly twenty years ago I gained my first intimate acquaintance with Parliament and Parliamentary procedure. The afternoon I was there the House was discussing the bill for the provision of meals to needy school-children. As I sat on the back bench on the Government side of the House, I could not see the men among the Liberal members as they rose to speak. One of the speakers hidden below the gallery greatly impressed me, not only by the substance of what he was saying, but by the quickness with which he secured the ear of the House. "Who's speaking?" I asked of a gallery colleague of mine of twenty years ago who had joined me on the back bench. "That's Alden," he answered. "There is nothing of the new member about him," I suggested. "No," continued my old colleague; "and that is what distinguishes this House of Commons from the Commons when you were here back in the eighties. These new men are mostly men who have proved their capacity outside. Nearly all of them have achieved success in public work before they were elected. They are here for business, and they know how to go about it. Never before were there so many young men of ability in the House of Commons. All the wallflowers who were of the House in the days you were of the gallery are gone. The last election cleared them all out, and their places have been taken by men who are here to get things done." The wallflowers my old colleague alluded to were men who in former Parliaments had sought election merely as a social distinction, and who were without any serious bent for politics. These political danglers had been driven out at the election to give place to the newer type of House of Commons members. If my old colleague had written a column, he could not more fully or more accurately have described the change in Parliament which the last general election has brought. The attitude of the House toward the bill which was under discussion was a proof of the change. It was introduced as a private member's bill—a bill for which the Government usually takes no responsibility. It is a distinctly Socialistic measure. I was familiar with the House of Commons from 1886 to 1892, and I am convinced that in those years it would have been next to impossible to have made a House for its second reading stage. Even if the member who had introduced it had

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succeeded in inducing forty fellow-members to make a House for its discussion, its opponents would have talked it out and so made an end of it. But Mr. Birrell, the new Minister of Education, was there to give it a helping hand—to secure that it should at least go to committee. Sir William Anson, his predecessor at the Education Department when the Tories were in office, gave it some measure of support, and the bill was read a second time and sent to a select committee. This change in the attitude of the House of Commons towards such measures as this for free meals for school-children is, however, not wholly due to the late general election. It is part of the change which has been coming over England since the great dock strike in East London in 1889. The change went on even during the years of political reaction. Mr. Chamberlain's Compensation for Accidents Act, which first established as a legal principle that industry must carry the burden of its casualties, was part of it. So was the Act of the last session of Parliament which set up local machinery for the relief of the unemployed outside of the ordinary operation of the poor law; and to-day neither the Tory nor the Liberal party can claim a monopoly of the spirit which actuated the legislation to which I have referred—the spirit which accounts for the sympathetic consideration accorded to the bill for the provision of free meals for school-children.

While I have been here I have made inquiries in various parts of the country as to the allegations recently current in American newspapers that English cities are tiring of municipal ownership. I have been able to find few traces of this alleged weariness. The action of an express company against the Manchester Corporation, in which an order was asked to restrain the Corporation from doing an express business in connection with its street-car system, has been decided in the Court of Chancery, while I have been here, mainly in favor of the city; and in Manchester I heard nothing but expressions of satisfaction with Mr. Justice Farwell's judgment. By the judgment there is to be a restriction on the carrying of parcels beyond the street-car system—that is, in areas outside the municipality—if the petitioners furnish proof that any charges for this business fall upon the city funds. The City Corporation claims that no charges in connection with this particular service are made on the city funds; but should the city finally be defeated on this minor question, there is every likelihood that additional powers will be conferred on the municipality by Parliament. This is, however, only a very small part of the express service now undertaken by the city of Manchester in connection with what Mr. Justice Farwell described as its "comprehensive scheme of parcels collection and delivery." Manchester is ahead of all the English municipalities in its street-car service; and the citizens generally are not in favor of any check to its further development. In London I found that the County Council is losing money on its steamboat service. That this is so can scarcely be wondered at; for in the days when the steamboats on the Thames were operated by private companies, the service was never popular except in the summer-time. Then its patrons were mostly visitors to London with plenty of time on their hands; for steamboat travel on the Thames is too slow for business people, especially in these days when electricity has been installed on the underground railways and the train service greatly accelerated. In Glasgow I ascertained that the electric car system is having the effect of carrying people further afield, out of the historically congested parts of the city; and I have noted the same tendency in several English provincial towns. The movement to the remoter suburbs is not so well marked as it is in the larger American cities. But electric street-car systems were nearly ten years later in coming in England than they were in the United States; English cities do not add to their populations as quickly as American cities; and, besides this, the English people—especially those of the middle classes—are much more conservative than Americans, and do not pull up stakes so readily and move elsewhere, even when the advantages of a change are obvious. Part of the discontent with municipal conditions on which so much

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stress has of late been laid in the American newspapers arises, I think, from hostility to corporations going into manufacturing business; and some of it is due to lately discovered instances of members of municipal councils trading with the municipality, contrary to the spirit, at any rate, of the law by which members of councils are forbidden to take contracts from the municipalities. These cases have been infrequent. Nor are the cases numerous in which corporations have gone into manufacturing; and nowhere have I found the slightest indication of popular hostility to the ownership and operation of the public utilities by the municipalities.

The promoters of the Garden City at Letchworth, where I lately spent a day, are seemingly aiming at three distinct objects—the development, on the best lines, of a middle-class residential center within an hour's railway ride from London; the creation of a manufacturing town under the best possible conditions, and marked by some of the features which distinguish Hartford among the industrial centers of New England; and, finally, at showing that much improvement is possible in the designing and construction of workmen's cottages. With the first of these objects good progress has been made—progress sufficient to warrant the statement that success as regards the residential part of the scheme is in sight. With the second object progress has been much slower, as there are as yet no manufacturing plants on the Garden City estate. Success has, however, been most immediate with the third of these aims; that is, with the object-lessons in the construction of inexpensive country cottages. The immediate success in this aim of the Garden City Company was largely due to the exhibition of country cottages which was organized at Letchworth last year. Architects and builders from all parts of England entered these competitions, and the result was the building of thirty or forty cottages, none of which exceeded in cost seven hundred and fifty dollars, not including the lot. These cottages are now all tenanted. Many are used as what have come to be known in England as week-end cottages; the others are occupied by artisans who are at work on new houses in the residential area of the Garden City. Some of the cottages cannot be described otherwise than as freaks. They are not likely to be duplicated elsewhere. But most of the cottages, externally and internally, show much advance on the ordinary style of building cottages in rural England; and in no particular is the change more marked than in the generous allowance of window space, which is often so sadly restricted even in the detached small houses in England. There are a few cottages of wood, but not one of them has anything about it to commend it to people accustomed to the little wooden houses that are to be seen in the smaller cities of America. Wood as a material for house construction has gone out of service in England. The building by-laws of the municipal authorities are chiefly responsible for its disappearance, although the cost of wood, which is much higher than in America, may also have had something to do with its general supersession by stone and brick. At Garden City architects and builders were free from many of these municipal restrictions; but such of the cottages as are of wood suggest that building in wood has become a lost art in England. The clapboarding, in particular, is heavy and clumsy in comparison with that of the least expensive of clapboarded houses in the United States; and there is little about any of these cottages at Garden City which is likely to induce the Local Government Board in London to amend the building laws in such a way as to bring wood into more general service. English people visiting America or Canada have to stay in a house built of wood before they can be persuaded that it can be as serviceable at all seasons of the year as a house of stone or brick; and it seems to me that an American must visit England and note the wearisome monotony of style of houses in the suburbs of London, and of the larger cities in the provinces, before he can appreciate to the full the charm of the individuality of houses in the suburbs of American cities, due to the free use of wood as building material. England will

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obviously profit from the exhibition of cottage building at Garden City last year; and, while admitting that America is much ahead of England in home building, it does still seem that an American exhibition of home building similarly organized to that at Garden City might be productive of equally widespread advantages, and be thoroughly worth while.

AN EVENING IN A SUBURB

BY A CASUAL OBSERVER

ONE afternoon recently I left New York to spend the evening in a manufacturing community about fifteen miles out in New Jersey. The great buildings of the city, the large numbers of well-dressed men and women hurrying along the streets, the evidences of comfort and culture on every hand—all these were soon forgotten as I crossed the "Jersey Meadows" and was stopping at small villages made up of the employees of small factories.

Presently the name of my station was announced, and in a moment I found myself on the station platform surrounded by workingmen who were speaking a variety of languages. On every corner I saw saloons. As I looked up and down the one business thoroughfare, saloons seemed to outnumber all the other business places. The streets were muddy and there were no sidewalks. The buildings were either not painted at all, or, if painted, were given a dismal color. The whole effect was depressing. I was forced to think that these people had few comforts; that much of their money was spent for drink; that ambition was largely gone; and I felt that amid such surroundings I should not be surprised at anything.

Before my train was out of sight I realized that I was in a strange community. I really wished that I could leave; but there were no more trains in the direction of home for twelve hours. I began to search for a place to stay. After a few calls I was able to find a room at a private house. The head of the family was an employee of one of the large companies. He was an electrician—the only one in the village. This man worked every night until almost midnight, after his day's work at the factory was done, wiring private houses and other buildings. The wife was glad "her man" did not drink like most of the other men she knew.

There was one small restaurant near the station. It was the only one in the village. During the first meal I listened to a stream of profanity and vulgarity that would have made some of the most flourishing places on the Bowery seem tame. This made me anxious to find out what these men did when not at work, so I spent the evening looking around. The stores were open. The customers were largely women and children. The boys and men were in the saloons. There were twenty-seven of these. Five had dance-halls, four had billiard and pool tables, and one had bowling alleys. The three or more hours spent that night in the different places revealed some of the existing conditions.

One of the first men with whom I talked was well dressed and bore evidences of having come from a good home. I soon learned that his people lived in a neighboring city. He explained that he never drank, but as there was almost nothing going on in the community he went to the dance-halls. He said that most of the girls who went to these places were respectable; a few were not. They were the girls whose homes were in the community. "These are the only places," said he, "where we can get together. I would not care, however, to take any of the young women from my own home to them."

I stepped into a corner saloon and found a group of men seated around a table having an unusually jovial time. The center of the group was a man named "Pat." When a little under the influence of liquor, he talked very glibly and made much fun. The bartender knew his business and kept Pat feeling

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good. At intervals he would say. "Well, boys, it's getting slow; it's Pat's treat." Without further question every one drank, and Pat's book account grew. I learned afterwards that this man had a family in the village suffering for the necessities of life. His wages were only $1.50 per day. Of course his reputation for paying bills was not good. This was the only saloon where he could be "trusted." The next morning, on the street, I met three of these men. They told me they did not feel very well, and that they were not going to work that day.

In going through another part of the village I was startled to see a small boy trying to put a grown man out of a saloon. He did not succeed, and I dropped in to see what was going on. I found two boys, about twelve and fourteen years of age, trying to force their father out of the place. They were telling him that the mother was at home sick, without a doctor, without anything to eat, and without a fire. While I was walking along the street, a man of about fifty years invited me into another one of these drinking-places. He explained that he had started to work that morning, but in going by the saloon his appetite for liquor overpowered him, and he had been drinking more or less all day. He said, "I wish I was dead, because drink is killing me. I have had no help as I have tried to stop it, and nowhere to go but saloons." In this same place I noticed that the porter had the appearance of being a workingman. In conversation he said: "I was working in one of the factories here, and getting twelve dollars a week. After I had paid my board bill, which was four dollars a week, and then my saloon bill, I had not enough money left to buy a pair of socks. I am just as well off here, because I get my meals and a place to sleep, all I want to drink, and a few tips, so that I really have as much as I did when I was in the factory, and I do not have to work as hard."

I had many conversations with saloonkeepers and with the workingmen themselves about the amount of money each regular customer spent per week for drink. The smallest amount mentioned by any one of the men was four dollars; this man was getting a dollar and a half a day. The highest amount was twelve dollars; this man received four dollars a day. The statements made by saloonkeepers themselves showed that the average amount received from men who are their regular patrons was about six dollars a week. I found that the men who have book accounts at the saloons must pay them on pay-day or get no more drink. Most of the men who have saloon bills find it hard to get trusted at the stores. The result is that the saloon bills are paid first, and provision bills are paid last or not at all. The business men stated that the men who go to the saloons are such poor pay that they are compelled to limit the amount of provisions sold to them. Their families, therefore, must suffer.

Most of the factories are new, so that modern ideas about lighting, ventilation, etc., are well carried out. These things, however, affect only the conditions under which the men work. It is during the time when the men are not working that the harm is done. Saloons are on every hand, the majority of homes unattractive, the forces for evil well-nigh overpowering, while the forces for good are almost lost sight of. The schools in the community are only fairly well attended, although the place is full of children. There are four churches—one Catholic and three Protestant. The Catholic church is well attended. The attendance at all of the Protestant churches is not over one hundred per Sunday, although the English-speaking people are almost one-half Protestant.

I was glad the next morning when my train came, so that I could turn away from the depression of it all. Yet here are over six thousand persons, at least four thousand of them Americans, living all the time amid these surroundings. It is hard to believe that such conditions exist under the very shadow of the great city with its wealth, culture, education, and religion.

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THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION[1]

BOTH in source and substance this is a significant book, though opening no line of thought quite new. Christian scholars have long seen and said that the ecclesiastical orthodoxy generated under the reign of the ancient cosmology requires complete transformation to adapt it to the cosmology now regnant. Against the appeal of church tradition to the external authority of an infallible pontiff or an inerrant book, Christian thinkers have long protested that the seat of authority is within the soul; that theory or belief is an attitude of the intellect toward ideas, but saving faith an attitude of conscience and will toward an ideal good. These principles have also been applied by numerous evangelical writers to specific particulars of orthodox doctrine—Biblical inspiration, miracles, the Trinity, etc.—with modifying effect. The present work by Professor George B. Foster, of Chicago University, surpasses these in comprehensiveness, and goes beyond them in concessions to radical critics. Its distinctively philosophical half is more satisfactory than its distinctively critical half.

In his account of the formation of "authority-religion," and its disintegration by modern learning, Dr. Foster is on solid ground. So also in his exhibition of the changed view of the world, and of the contrast between the naturalistic and the religious view of it. This portion of his work is strong and brilliant, with a fullness evidently designed for the persuasion of the unconvinced. Those who still place the finality of the Christian religion in externally authenticated dogmas are summoned to seek it in its ideals, and in the power to realize them awakened by the appeal of Jesus to the conscience as "the Ideal of our ideal."

But when Dr. Foster proceeds to discuss the essence of the Christian religion, our sources for the life of Jesus, and Jesus himself, his ground in some important points is less secure. It is rather surprising to read of "the fantastic and dramatic preaching of Jesus on the Kingdom," and that in Jesus' view society had no future. The end of the world was at hand. The kingdom of God which he preached was to be brought in by cosmic catastrophe. "His ethics was 'end ethics.' But there was no end, and human relationships to the world have necessarily turned out to be entirely different from what Jesus expected." The Synoptic Gospels on their face lend plausibility to this view. But they also point differently. The parables of the leaven, of the mustard-seed, of the seed growing secretly, are certainly Jesus' own. They point toward a gradual development of the kingdom of God. They are incompatible with catastrophism. In so far as there is inconsistency in the reported discourses of Christ concerning the kingdom of God, it is far more probable that it is due to the prepossessions of the reporters than to inconsistencies in the Teacher. Later on Dr. Foster seems to recognize this, and retracts somewhat: "Who dares assert that he knows accurately how Jesus thought of the great catastrophe, and what the disciples first supplied?" More retraction elsewhere would have been judicious. Does John leave us "entirely in the lurch" upon "the great question, What is the main thing in the sight of God?" The Synoptic Gospels say it is doing the will of God. John says it is believing in the Son of God. But Dr. Foster confounds this with an entirely different thing—believing "*that* Jesus is this Son of God," of which he truly says, "one can affirm it without getting a hair's breadth nearer to God, without being the slightest vestige a better man." Here he entirely breaks with his fundamental distinction between the religion of ideas, believing *that*, and the religion of the ideal, believing *in*, of which John's Gos-

[1] *The Finality of the Christian Religion.* By George Burnham Foster University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

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pel has always found its close reflection in the experience of saintly souls.

Dr. Foster's contention is that the Christology of the creeds is mythological. "The fantastic idea that a dead person should return upon the clouds of heaven chills the modern intellect quite as much as belief in a pre-existent personal Messiah"—a chill partly chargeable to the reader who literalizes Oriental imagery. But he believes that "the divine values," the ideas of divine grace, and love, and judgment also, "which constitute the kernel of the messianic mythology," must be taken over into the modern view of the world. These, he insists, are no importation from above the world by a heavenly visitant, but are organic in the natural world-order, and of indigenous growth. So, though the sacred myth be surrendered, it is no real loss, for "once yet again the glory of the latter covenant excels the glory of the former." This is the conviction on which Dr. Foster, in behalf of "the bearers of culture," affirms the finality of the Christian religion.

The peculiar genius of Jesus Christ lies in his full consciousness of God, his certainty that God was ever with him and in him. Long before theologians had begun to recognize the immanence of God Jesus realized it in his own experience. Hence the strength and peace with which, as child of the Eternal, he triumphed over the worst ills of time, bearing lifelong his cross of scorn and enmity, and giving his life lifelong for the redemption of other lives from sin and suffering. This Dr. Foster finds to be the heart, the finality, of the Christian religion—the God-consciousness which, amid all the darkness and peril of the world, Jesus communicates as redemption from the evil of the world. Believing in him as the Ideal, we may also believe with him that we also are God's children.

This seems to be impregnable ground. Principal Fairbairn, commenting on the current phrase, "Christocentric theology," observed that the method of theology must be Christocentric, but theology itself theocentric. This is a timely caution. A Christocentric theology has for many no thoroughfare into the God-consciousness which Jesus exhibits as the light of life. It is to the Father that we must come with him. To believe in Jesus, says Dr. Foster, is to cast ourselves with him upon the bosom of the Father, and hold him by the hand.

From some of Dr. Foster's interpretations of the Gospels we dissent, but with this spiritual conclusion The Outlook is heartily in sympathy.

SOUTHERN POINTS OF VIEW[1]

FIVE Southerners have within the past few months published books which touch upon the peculiar problems of the South. Of these, one has written an argument on the character of the negroes; another, a collection of papers interpreting present conditions; the other three, studies of historical periods in the South, or perhaps, more accurately, studies of the civilization of the South as it was exhibited before, during, and after the Civil War. The variety of opinions expressed in these five books is enough to show that there is no one opinion which can be ascribed distinctively to the whole South.

If the Northerner of abolitionist antecedents were asked to select from these the book which expressed "the Southern view" as he understood it, he would undoubtedly choose Professor Smith's, entitled "The Color Line." Between the title-page and the Scriptural quotation which stands at the end there is hardly a page which is not marked by a furious sort of dogmatism. There is as little sign of poise in the book as one could

[1] *The Color Line.* By W. B. Smith. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.
The Negro: The Southerners' Problem. By Thomas Nelson Page. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Democracy in the South Before the Civil War. By G. W. Dyer. Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church South, Nashville, Tenn.
The Brothers' War. By John C. Reed. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.
Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama. By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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expect to find in the utterance of a Chinese agitator against foreigners. Repugnance to the negroes spouts from every sentence and exudes from between the lines. Even repulsion to the physical characteristics of the colored people, that rare trait among Southerners of the old master class, makes its appearance. The motive of the book is fear of intermarriage between the white race and the black. This fear is all-consuming; it meets no resistance; it interprets every advance of the blacks as a menace to civilization. It is an obsession. It can be likened only to the unrestrained fear of contagious disease which sees in every sporadic case the proof of an epidemic, and so possesses the soul of its victim that it drives out all pity for the sick and the dying. The author denounces oppression, but allows his fear to dictate a policy which is practically merciless. Some hint of the lengths to which this fear drives the author may be given by such sentences as these:

> In fact, the training of servitude in the South has worked mightily for the negro's advancement—not unlike the domestication of the lower animals.
>
> Nearly all observers admit that the negro child is on the whole quite as intelligent as those of other human varieties, but that on arriving at puberty all further progress seems to be arrested.
>
> As the generations pass on, the negro will be hemmed every way within straiter and straiter limits, his numbers will decrease, his digit will move further to the right in the great sum of humanity—slowly, silently, steadily, he will be driven to the wall.

To indicate the gaps in the author's argument—for, strangely, this impassioned appeal is addressed to the reason—would be a long task. One argument may be taken as a sample. Mulattoes are more intelligent than pure blacks; this shows the superiority of white blood. But mulattoes are more criminal and more subject to disease. Hence the only hope for negro advancement, miscegenation, is blocked by vice and death as well as by race antagonism. Of course, even if the premises be admitted, this argument ignores the fact that the mulattoes come mostly from the house-servant, not the field-hand, class of negroes, and therefore may owe their alleged superior intelligence to environment as well as heredity; that also mulattoes are to be found more generally in cities than in the country, and may owe their vice and disease, not to their inheritance, but to their environment. As a matter of fact, however, there are no statistics concerning mulattoes which are of the least value.

The contrast between this book and the volume on the negro by Mr. Thomas Nelson Page is radical, not so patently in substance as in spirit. It is true there are some points on which the two books exhibit marked agreement. For example, Mr. Page says (p. 79): "Washington City has ever since the time of emancipation appeared a sort of Mecca to many of the negro race. There, numbers of that race have had opportunities which have been wanting to them in the South, and there to-day may be found, perhaps, the best educated element of the race to be found anywhere." And he then cites evidence to show that even there competent negro workmen could not be found. Compare that passage with the following from Professor Smith (p. 252): "Washington City is the Mecca of the negro; there if anywhere on earth he should show himself at his best. What is the prison record? Whites 138, blacks 358; yet he numbers only 328 per thousand—," etc. The similarity in phraseology is superficial and of no consequence; the agreement in selecting the city of Washington as a proper place for testing negro advancement is deeper and more significant. The artificial conditions existing in the city of Washington, it seems to us, make it one of the last places in the world where evidence for real negro advancement could be expected. Such an agreement as that, however, is incidental. Mr. Page represents the finest feeling of the old-time ruling class of the South, and cannot speak with contempt of a people for whom he has affection. The warmth of his tribute to the Mammy is further from the spirit of Professor Smith than it is even from the understanding of the Northerner who never knew what a Mammy was. In contrast, too, with Professor Smith's insistence on treating the negroes in a lump is Mr. Page's explicit declaration: "One of the fundamental errors has been in

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considering the negroes as a special class, to be regarded, discussed, legislated for, aided, and sustained as such, instead of as plain human beings who, judged according to certain universal standards, belong to various classes in which those standards would place other members of the human family." And this is none the less an error, he wisely adds, because the negroes have fallen into it themselves. Mr. Page therefore urges the necessity of education. To him the amalgamation of the races is unthinkable; but it is not a specter. Many of the facts he calls up indicate that it is becoming more and more clearly an impossibility. He accepts the present conditions, looks upon their darkest side, and then presents constructive suggestions for remedy.

The reader who wishes to know how the Southern race problem strikes the well-bred Southerners would do well to read this book. He will find not always indisputable statements based on first-rate authorities; Hannibal Thomas's assertions, for instance, are treated in this book as in two of the others, with a confidence they do not deserve; but he will find a sincere, broad-minded expression of a Southern view, an explanation of the feeling which was roused in the South during the era of Reconstruction and which naturally still survives, and a hopeful interpretation of the future which Southerners face.

Of the three volumes on the historical aspects of Southern problems, that on "Democracy in the South before the War" is much the smallest. The basis of comparison between the South and the North which the author assumes is not altogether a just one. Some of his statements are, to say the least, open to question, and more of his conclusions. Nevertheless its general thesis is sound: that among the white people of the South democracy was in many respects more consistently maintained than in the North, and in almost all respects more firmly established than is commonly supposed.

"The Brothers' War" is a Southern interpretation of the struggle between the Federal Union and the Confederacy. Its dominant quality is kindliness—an unfriendly critic might term it amiability. Its most noteworthy contribution to the subject is the clear and illuminating exposition of "national" feeling in the South before the war. The ostensible movement on behalf of States' rights was, Mr. Reed maintains, really an exhibition of Southern national consciousness, the striving for a Southern nation, which had its beginning before the formation of the Federal Union. He concludes his book with a discussion of present conditions. Like Professor Smith, he fears mongrelism; but, unlike him, he is not panic-stricken. Like Mr. Page, he argues for negro education; but, unlike him, he believes in colonization. Like both Professor Smith and Mr. Page, he is inclined to ascribe to racial traits what is sufficiently accounted for by the sudden submergence of an untrained peasantry in the sea of urban life.

In distinction to the other four volumes, Dr. Walter L. Fleming's book on "Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama" is the work primarily, not of a Southerner, but of a student of history. It is an admirable piece of work. The study of original sources has not deprived Dr. Fleming of the power to draw a picture of conditions in Alabama which is human rather than academic in character. Although his book is of the sort which the student of the Civil War and Reconstruction will wish to have on his shelves, it is one which the reader of history will find interesting. That portion which deals with the Civil War succeeds especially in showing the varieties of opinion which flourished in Alabama during the period of preparation for the conflict and the conflict itself. In general, this portion of the book is characterized by poise and a judicial spirit. When that part of the book which treats of Reconstruction is reached, however, the tone changes. This is a period concerning which it is not yet easy nor perhaps altogether admirable for an American—or, for that matter, any lover of liberty—to write without feeling. Mr. Lecky did not use finely balanced phrases in characterizing the period. It is here that Mr. Fleming is most open to the criticism of not sufficiently qualifying his statements. The impression he would

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give of Northern teachers in the South, for example, is not quite a fair one. One is not inclined, however, to find much fault; for if ever there were deeds done, not only to inflame a people, but also to exasperate subsequent writers and readers of history, they were the deeds of the dominant forces during Reconstruction. Mr. Fleming writes little that might not be written to-day by some Northerner who, like him, has been born since the war.

If any one desires to learn how diverse are the opinions of Southern men concerning the problems of the South, he may learn much by the reading of these five volumes. If such a one should read in addition Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy's "Problems of the Present South" and Mr. William Garrott Brown's "The Lower South in American History," he would get a still broader view of the cross-currents of Southern opinion. In only two respects, so far as we can see, do all these writers agree: in regarding Reconstruction as prolific in blunders and lasting animosities, and in stoutly believing that union between the black and white races is not to be tolerated. Agreement of opinion in these two respects, however, is no longer distinctive of the South.

Comment on Current Books

The American Electoral System

Mr. J. Hampden Dougherty's "The Electoral System of the United States" is, so far as we are aware, the first book making a comprehensive review and critical analysis of the history of the Presidential count. All will not agree with his proposed remedies for the defects in the existing method of choosing the National chief executive, but none can fail to find suggestive value in the successive chapters in which he considers the provisions of the Constitution respecting the electoral system, the theories of "counting," the Morton Bill, the cases before the Electoral Commission of 1877, the Electoral Law passed in 1887, the various amendments offered in Congress relative to the electoral system, and his own views on the best method of solving what may again become, as it has at times been in the past, a critical question. Resenting what he describes as the gradual usurpation by Congress of a jurisdiction over the electoral system, and regarding the electoral college as a piece of antiquated and dangerous machinery, he warmly advocates a Constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of the President and Vice-President, not on a general ticket or district plan, but on a proportional plan. "When," he explains, "the total vote for President or Vice-President shall have been counted and canvassed by the requisite State authorities, it will be the duty of these authorities to allot to each candidate his quota of the Presidential votes in the ratio between the total popular vote for him and the aggregate popular vote for all candidates." In the event of a tie vote the Presidency is to go to the candidate having the largest popular vote throughout the country. The practical difficulties in the way of effecting this radical change in the electoral system are obvious, but Mr. Dougherty's critique is none the less deserving of careful study. (The Electoral System of the United States. By J. Hampden Dougherty. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

The Duty of Imperial Thinking

"I am the captain of my soul" is a line which interprets this title. This series of short essays thus introduced, of four or five pages each, "on things worth while," keeps well in general to that line. They are fresh, pithy, aptly illustrated from experience and science, and specially attractive to those very busy people who need for their reading a sort of "quick-lunch" restaurant. Dr. Watkinson always writes in vigor, and occasionally in haste. A comet, though seeming to be erratic, is not a well-chosen illustration of a life not submitted to the divine control. All comets known to us, says Professor Lowell, belong to the sun's domain and obey his control, and Jupiter has a large and obedient family of them. And the statement that "there is no power of redemption in the race" surely needs qualification, for God is in the race, as well as elsewhere. (The Duty of Imperial Thinking. By William L. Watkinson, D.D., LL.D. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.)

Dynamic Factors in Education

That the nervous system is a dynamo for the supply of the energy needed for the various functions of body and mind is a fundamental fact from which progressive

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educators are now drawing and urging natural and necessary inferences. The energy generated must find an outlet in action, and the proper direction of it is the first problem in the child's education; for the development of the proper brain-areas depends upon the treatment of "the motor factor." Accordingly "the first educational law" is that "nothing should be taught, in the kindergarten or elsewhere, that cannot be lived, worked out into conduct, established in motor experiences. The dynamic side of every study—arithmetic, language, science, geography—must be made most prominent." The first half of the present work by an eminent educator, Professor O'Shea, of the University of Wisconsin, is devoted to the exposition of this principle. The second half discusses the problem which naturally comes next—the conservation of the energy thus directed. Fatigue, nervous economy and prodigality, æsthetic influences, nutrition and malnutrition, eye-strain, and other causes of waste, are sanely and helpfully treated in the light of science and experience. Among other facts cited, the Ithaca experiment for several years is noteworthy for its demonstration that children are confined too long to school seats. The whole volume is what its subject is, dynamic, and is as important for parents as for teachers. (Dynamic Factors in Education. By M. V. O'Shea. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25, net.)

The False Gods Egyptian mysteries, black cats, suspected crime, combine to excite the imagination of a young reporter, who is sent out to write up a "story" for a daily paper. Carried away by his ambition to excel in yellow journalism, he makes a serious false step, and for a few hours suffers all the agony himself which he, as a reporter, has lightly laid upon others. Only a glimpse of the evil effect of his own work is given him, however, and he returns eagerly to the false gods he elects to serve. Mr. Lorimer attempts a new subject in this tale, quite in contrast to the "Letters from a Self-Made Merchant to his Son." (The False Gods. By George Horace Lorimer. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.25.)

History of the Reformation Certain aspects of the Reformation have been amply presented, others meagerly. There is justification for a fresh study of this familiar field. In the present volume Dr. Lindsay, Principal of the United Free Church College in Glasgow, while covering the whole ground, gives large space to the social and religious antecedents conditioning that revolutionary movement, which need a fuller presentation than they have received. As the Jewish Church began, according to the book of Exodus, in a "labor movement," as Christianity was born in a period of social tension, so was the Protestant "Revolution," as Seebohm prefers to call it. Economic causes had deeply aggrieved the unprivileged multitude, and when Luther spoke, "its discontent," says Dr. Lindsay, "was the sounding-board which made his words reverberate." In its religious aspect also the Lutheran movement appears as the flowering of a simple, non-ecclesiastical piety that had been growing for generations, more or less superstitious indeed, but deeply sincere. Conspicuous types of this were St. Bernard, whose lyrics survive in our modern hymnals, and St. Francis of Assisi. In this point of view the Reformers were great revivalists, for whom others had prepared the way, and in their religious work there was no breach of continuity with the past. Such are the salient features of this fresh History, which specially commend it to those who may suppose themselves to have read all that is worth knowing upon its subject. (A History of the Reformation. By Thomas M. Lindsay, M.A., D.D. Vol. I. The Reformation in Germany. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.)

If Youth but Knew Nothing is easier to recognize and harder to describe than the glamour of romance and the charm of sentiment. Mr. and Mrs. Castle have delicately infused just these qualities into their prettily named story. It is placed in Thuringia, in the days when the inefficient and sensual Jerome Bonaparte for a brief day was King of Westphalia. Perhaps the note of sentiment is held a little too insistently for real power, but never with a lapse of taste or feeling. The romance has humor and action, too, and a right pleasing love story, well interwoven of troubles and tenderness. Best of all is the character of the old fiddler, friend of children and lovers, gentleman and vagabond, esteemed half-witted but full of resource and courage, a man with a past of sorrow but overflowing with human sympathy. He moves through the tale flittingly to supply that knowledge of life and the world which youth lacks, as the proverb half quoted as title has it, and altogether is a real addition to fiction's gallery of portraits. (If Youth but Knew. By Agnes and Egerton Castle. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

In Our Town William Allen White has not limited his knowledge of human nature to that shown by boys alone. In Our Town gossip ran wild, the local newspapers faithfully reported it, and even though

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there are no highly refined, cultivated, or educated people in the homely group, there is a vast deal of true humanity. The printing office is the point of observation, and much of its inner working is brought to light in vivacious, humorous, and often pathetic character sketches. The old General who edited the town paper for forty years, and was pushed aside by a newer enterprise, is described with a true touch. The town magnate, the town loafer, the rural beau and the village belle all live in these lively pages. (In Our Town. By William Allen White. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Jewish Encyclopedia This volume completes the great work of which commendatory notice has repeatedly been made by The Outlook. As the joint product of many hundreds of Jewish and Christian scholars, it is an impartial record of the memorabilia of the Jewish people for three thousand years. Their history, literature, theology, social and religious customs, various activities, eminent teachers and other men of mark, the countries and places of Jewish abode, fill over eight thousand pages, amply illustrated. A work of high value, it is highly creditable to all who have shared in its production, together with its publishers. The article in the present volume on Typography (forty pages) contains a list of Jewish printers down to 1732, which fills fourteen pages. Among other noteworthy articles, those on the Temple, Theology, the Lost Ten Tribes, the United States, and Zionism deserve mention. (The Jewish Encyclopedia. Isidore Singer, Ph.D., Editor. Vol. XII. Talmud—Zweifel. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.)

Joseph Jefferson One can hardly have too much about the personality of one so endeared to Americans by his delightful acting and genial individuality. Mr. Francis Wilson knew Jefferson the man and Jefferson the actor thoroughly, and he has a store of anecdotes, bits of talk, stage happenings, and incidents of travel, which are well worth preserving. The book belongs on the shelf with the Autobiography and Mr. William Winter's "Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson;" and the three together are needed to make up a complete and all-around impression. In the present volume one may open almost at a venture and find some whimsically humorous story or something typical of Jefferson's sweetness and originality. Mr. Wilson rightly says that Jefferson's prime characteristic as man and actor was his naturalness, and adds that "few have gone through so much lionizing and become less vain." Most pleasing is the record of his love for children and for all that interested children. He had himself a childlike simplicity and freshness of spirit which made him loved by young and old alike. Mr. Wilson has brought out this trait capitally, and has made a book as true to nature as it is entertaining. He has chosen for an introductory quotation this saying of Jefferson:

> My boys sometimes get discouraged, and I say to them: "Go out and do something for somebody. Go out and give something to anybody, if it's only a pair of woolen stockings to a poor old woman. It will take you away from yourselves and make you happy!"

(Joseph Jefferson: Reminiscences of a Fellow Player. By Francis Wilson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

Kenelm's Desire The author, Hughes Cornell, has a novel situation in this story and manages it well. A full-blooded Alaskan Indian, of a chief's family, is educated among the whites, yet not entirely separated from his own race. Of unusual talents and pride, he is inspired to compete with white men in their own territory of achievement. The inspiration and reward of this ambition is a lovely, natural girl of good Scotch and German parentage, an educated musician. The process in her mind and heart as she confronts the love of the Indian youth for her is most delicately and adequately described. In the end, loyal love triumphs over conventional prejudice and the lovers marry. The author guards herself carefully from allowing general conclusions from a single instance, and does not hesitate to expose all the possible ugliness of incongruous social associations between alien races. San Francisco and British Columbia furnish a fine stage scene for the love idyll and dramatic political events portrayed. (Kenelm's Desire. By Hughes Cornell. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

Letters of Richard Ford After reading Richard Ford's "Letters" we can quite understand that, as Mr. Prothero says of him, he was well and widely read, gifted with a wonderful memory and a keen sense of humor, possessed of an extraordinary faculty of unexpected turns of expression, and full of curious anecdotes and adventures. These letters describe for us something of England and a good deal of Spain as those countries looked sixty years ago. The latter country does not seem to have changed much since then, save as the rail has replaced the stage-coach. Ford was the author of a capital "Handbook for Spain;" he was also the interpreter to England of the genius of Velasquez. His letters, together with Mr. Prothero's introduction and comment, form a volume at once restful

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and suggestive to any one specially interested in Spanish life, manners, and art. (Letters of Richard Ford. Edited by Rowland E. Prothero. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.)

Living in the Sunshine This is an excellent book so far as it goes. Its aim is to bring some joyless Christians to realize the peace and comfort that they do not derive from such religion as they have. The counsel given them emphasizes what Professor James has written on "the will to believe." Such persons need to say, "I *will* believe and act on what I profess to believe of the love of God as shown by Christ." But the book does not go far enough in this line. The action inseparable from real belief in "the God of all comfort" does not end in self. The love of God is for the individual to communicate in beneficent activity. Of this the author has very little to say, and consequently does not touch effectively the trouble she would remove. The remedy for joylessness is not in any line of self-interest, however religious, but in the line of active interest for others. (Living in the Sunshine. By H. W. S. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1, net.)

More Stories of Married Life Now that we are admitting the camera into the realm of art, we must accord to these delightful stories by Mrs. Cutting a high award for artistic photography. Every commuter and every commuter's wife will smile, either ruefully or whole-heartedly, over scenes that are as natural as life. While marital trials appear, husbands are dense or forgetful, and wives are foolish or sensitive, yet in every one of these humorous or pathetic pictures there is a sweet, wholesome background made up of the stanch American chivalry of which we have a right to be proud. (More Stories of Married Life. By Mary Stewart Cutting. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.25.)

Pearl This beautiful old poem of the Middle English period has never been translated with so delicate a sense of its tender beauty or with so much reverence for its spirit as in the new rendering which Dr. S. Weir Mitchell has just put forth in a thin volume. The poem is an allegory in verse; a memorial of a lost daughter, Pearl, which takes the form of a vision and is pervaded by pathos and purity. Dr. Mitchell has given his translation much of the simplicity of the original. He has condensed it so that its bulk is reduced by at least half, and has given it a form which invests it with the interest of a modern poem. The descriptive quality of this elegy and the skill with which Dr. Mitchell has put it into verse are indicated by these two stanzas:

"The hill-sides there were brightly crowned
With crystal cliffs so clear of kind,
And wood-sides, set with holes around,
Shone blue as is the blue of Inde.
On every branch with light between,
The leaves of quivering silver hung;
Through gleaming glades with shimmering sheen
The light fell glistering them among.
The gravel rolled upon the shore
Was precious pearls of Orient.
The sun's bright beams were pale before
That sight so fair of wonderment.

"My spirit there forgot its woe,
So wondrous were those charmèd hills.
Rare flavored fruits thereon did grow,
Fit food to cure all human ills.
In fair accord the birds flew by,
Like wingèd flames, both great and small,
Nor cittern string nor minstrelsy
Might hope to match their joyous call:
For when the air their red wings beat,
Full choir sang they rapturously.
No greater joy a man could greet
Than this to hear, and that to see."

(Pearl. By S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., LL.D. The Century Company, New York. $1, net.)

Ten Thousand Miles in a Yacht A slight but readable account of a quite unusual cruise. It was made by the Virginia, owned by Commodore E. C. Benedict, of the New York Yacht Club, and in the party were Commodore Benedict, Mr. W. M. Ivins (who furnishes an introductory chapter abounding in special knowledge of conditions of life and industry in Brazil and the Amazon country), the author, and half a dozen friends. While the notes of observation include Bermuda, Martinique, the Barbadoes, Nassau, Trinidad, Curaçao, and other stopping-places, the main object was the month's journey up the Amazon and back—a yacht trip uncommon and extremely interesting, well worth recording in more detail than is here employed. There are numerous photographs. (Ten Thousand Miles in a Yacht. By Richard Arthur. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2, net.)

Wayside Talks The name of Pastor Wagner is so familiar and so honored among us that this small volume of tender, helpful talks to his friends, about duty and truth and beauty and work, will have a warm welcome. The life of the humble or the timid, scenes in quiet domestic life, gentle advice as to daily conduct, and strong appeals to the higher nature and religious ideals, all come into the circle of these Wayside Talks. (Wayside Talks. By Charles Wagner. Translated from the French by Gertrude Hall. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.)

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Letters to The Outlook

PROFESSIONAL COLLEGE ATHLETES AS SEEN BY AN UNDERGRADUATE

I made my first acquaintance with the ways of the so-called "ringer," or professional athlete, from a fellow-college man who had previously been a ringer himself. His experience may be interesting as illustrating the way in which men join the professional class. This man was at one time well known for his football ability in a large Boston school. While still at school he received letters (which he has shown me) from a well-known Southern college, which made direct offers for his services. These offers he did not accept, but nevertheless they opened his eyes to the possibilities of his athletic ability. Later, the football coach of a large Southern university made a recruiting trip through New England, and secured the services of this man for the next season. However, a new development here took place, which illustrates very well the complete commercial basis of the system. It happened that in a third Southern university there was a football coach who had not been very successful in his teams, and had been given one more year in which to "make good." This he resolved to do at any cost. So he set to work to collect a team, and found that he had an abundance of heavy line men, but lacked a half-back. Now it happened that the coach who had secured my friend's services needed a line man. So what did the representatives of these two ancient and respected universities do but get together and "swap" my friend for a line man. So the former went to a new university which he had never seen in his life. There he stayed for a year, and was "urged" to stay longer, but decided that he had had enough of that sort of college life. With this idea he came to our college, entirely without persuasion, but not, I must add, for the reason that such persuasion was never given there.

The fact of the existence of a distinct class of professional college athletes I first realized by hearing an evening's reminiscences exchanged by the man whom I have mentioned and another athlete whose career had been somewhat varied. The two men had never seen each other before they came to our college, but in conversation they developed an astounding number of common acquaintances —athletes in various colleges. In apparent interest and friendliness they would ask each other where "So-and-so" was at that time, to find out that "he's playing up at Blank College now. He's been there ever since he left Dash University." In every case it developed that the men of whom they talked had been in two or three different colleges in as many years, going apparently where they could exchange their commodity to the best advantage.

The "ringers" may be divided into two classes—the men who go to a preparatory school with the idea of going to some college and are only diverted to this college or to that by offers of remuneration, and, secondly, those who are actually recruited from extra-academic life.

The men in the first class are very much like any other college men. Those of the second class are decidedly more interesting. I can pick out at random three whom I have known very well. One is a man from a small town in the Middle States, who might have gone to college had it not been for athletics, but more likely would have not. He is now in his second college. His experience has been decidedly encouraging, for although college originally meant athletics to him, and although he plays professional baseball during the summer, still he has adapted himself very well to his new surroundings, is very popular with the other undergraduates, stands high in his classes, and intends to study law. Men like him are not hard to find, and represent the best of the professional undergraduates.

The other and lower extreme is represented by a football player who was really a character. This man had once been a carpenter, and had done apparently everything. He was paid outright for his services, although the payment was somewhat disguised, never took any interest whatsoever in the academic life of the college, and left when his stipulated term of service was over. Although admired for his ability, all the undergraduates understood his limitations, and took him for what he was worth. He had a very strong personality, and was a leader in whatever non-athletic affairs he entered. He was in college for about two years, and very interesting as a type. His career had been varied, for he had been in the army, had been arrested for vagrancy, and had worked his way to Europe. He was very fond of music, and in that way was very companionable to a good many of the undergraduates. His very strength and good

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nature made a deep impression of character, and when he left I think that every one was sorry to see him go. The third man, a football player, was to me the most interesting of the three. He had been a pugilist, among other things, a fact which was known to all the men in the college. Nevertheless, he was extremely popular, and proved to be a man of exceptional character. I never knew that he had any bad vices, and I do know that a few months in college opened his eyes and aroused his ambitions to a remarkable degree. He intended, and still intends, I believe, to be a civil engineer. He had little refinement when he entered college, but a great deal of native tact, and quickly adapted himself to his surroundings.

And what becomes of these men? Some of them become professional coaches or ball players; many of them drift away into the ordinary walks of life; a surprisingly large number get a real benefit from college, and, like the man whom I have mentioned, enter professional or higher commercial life, especially through the influence of graduates who have admired their athletic prowess. The man of whom I spoke first is now in a theological seminary, and has long ago forgotten his athletic career.

In conclusion, while I have nothing of good to say for the system which brought the "ringers" into existence, for many of the men themselves, as I have known them, I have sentiments which are anything but hostile. E. P. CARNOT.

NITROGEN AND AGRICULTURE

This letter is written on a moving car, between stops, of a "corn special," traveling through southern Michigan, stopping an hour at each of many stations where I lecture to farmers about the best methods of growing corn and at the same time maintaining the amount of "fixed nitrogen" in the soil.

Your comments on the article in "Harper's" about "Chemistry and the World's Food" certainly merit some attention from a man who is making it his life study to find out God's plan to maintain in equilibrium the constant supply of "fixed nitrogen." A partial and confessedly premature report of some of the results of some of our experiments along that line may not be out of place, either for your own information or for publication to allay any false alarm occasioned in the minds of your readers either by the unfortunate article itself or by your comments thereon.

In the first place, the "fixed nitrogen" in the soil was undoubtedly placed there, for the most part, by the work of bacteria and not at all through direct chemical action. The same bacteria are at work to-day in the same way to maintain the supply of "fixed nitrogen" as fast as it becomes unfixed and free. Take, for instance, a field on the college farm at the Michigan Agricultural College which has borne a rotation of clover and wheat alternately without manure of any kind since 1895. Here is a fair test as to the power of wheat to exhaust the nitrogen as opposed to the power of clover to restore it. Although no nitrogen has been applied in commercial fertilizers or in barnyard manure, the yields of wheat are not dropping nor is the clover less vigorous. The time is too short as yet to state that this operation may be kept up indefinitely, but there are certain indications to which attention is called.

In an adjoining field, clover was bearing a rather light crop, a ton and a half of cured hay per acre. The tops were mown off with an ordinary mower and were saved and analyzed. The roots, on an aliquot part of an acre, were washed out for ten inches below the surface, weighed, and analyzed. In considering the facts below, remember that thirty bushels, or 1,800 pounds, of wheat to the acre is a good yield, far above the average of the present, but we may hope that the work of the Department at Washington and of the Experiment Stations may result in bringing the average up to that high figure. The per cent. of nitrogen in wheat is less than two, but even at two per cent. the total quantity of "fixed nitrogen" in the yield of wheat from an acre will not exceed thirty-six pounds. In the roots of the clover, including the crowns of the plants, there were sixty-five pounds of nitrogen per acre—not quite twice as much as would be taken off in one crop of wheat. I am assuming, of course, that the wheat straw is to be returned to the land from which the wheat is taken, although it was not done in the experiment under consideration. Here we have a single crop of clover leaving in its roots much more fixed nitrogen than a crop of wheat takes off. Where does the clover get its nitrogen? From two sources: from the soil, and from the free nitrogen of the air of the soil, through the bacteria working in its roots. The proportion of the nitrogen requirements of the plant furnished by the soil and the air respectively depends upon the richness of the soil in "fixed nitrogen." The series of observations on the point are by no means complete, but enough has already been shown to lead us to expect that where the soil is relatively poor in nitrogen the amount taken from the air is greater, and, conversely, where there is an abundant supply of nitrogen in the humus of the soil the amount taken from the air is much less.

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Should our soils run low in nitrogen, the clover will take more nitrogen from the air than it does now, thus aiding in keeping up the supply.

Of the host of other experiments bearing on the same point there is not time to speak. Where, for instance, the rotation is a three-year one, corn following clover, wheat after the corn, and clover again after the wheat, the crops have continued to give us as full yields as at the beginning. Where a second crop of clover was plowed under, tops with the roots, the fixed nitrogen added to the soil was excessive—over 194 pounds per acre, enough for more than five crops of wheat. If, then, the supply of nitrogen should at any time run short, the farmer would need to plow under the whole clover crop, forage with the roots, and the supply would again become normal.

Unfortunately for this whole calculation and for the comments in your recent issue, the amount of nitrogen in the wheat itself is no true index of the loss of soil nitrogen due to the growing of the crop. Bacteriologists have just begun the study of the biology of the soil, but they have found that much of the "fixed nitrogen" may be set free by the bacteria in the soil if proper physical conditions are not maintained. What these proper physical conditions are to prevent the loss of nitrogen is the question confronting the farmer to-day. He knows that he can maintain the supply against all the legitimate demands of the wheat crop, but he desires to maintain it most economically; hence our seemingly exaggerated studies in soil physics and soil biology.

In the South the cow-peas take the place of the clover in this great work of restoring nitrogen to the soil. Worn-out soils, so called, have been rejuvenated without the application of nitrates or other nitrogenous manures, and with very little barnyard manure. The roots of the cow-pea are covered with nodules all through the South, and the amount of nitrogen stored in fixed form per acre is very large. The cotton crop carries off nitrogen in the seed, for the most part very little in the lint. With the cotton seed restored to the soil there is therefore little danger of exhaustion of nitrogen.

A second very important point in this matter is the fact that, with the nitrogen, the clover gives to the soil much humus, which acts like a sponge in giving to the soil an ability to hold water and resist a drought. A wheat crop carries off in the seed but thirty-six pounds of nitrogen per acre, but it needs a great many tons, fully seven hundred tons per acre, of water to develop the crop. This water falls at irregular intervals, usually in greatest abundance in the winter; while the demands are most intense, as far as the wheat is concerned, in June and early July. The application of any amount of mineral nitrates will not carry the wheat crop over a drought without abundance of humus; in fact, too much nitrates without humus would be harmful. Commercial fertilizers are to be recommended for use with barnyard manure or green crops plowed under, seldom alone.

Enough has been said to show that the danger of a nitrogen famine is very remote.

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Director Government Experiment Station,
Agricultural College, Michigan.

[The paragraph referred to by Professor Smith in this extremely interesting letter merely summarized Professor Duncan's article in "Harper's Monthly," without attempting any expression of opinion.—THE EDITORS.]

TEACHING THE TEACHERS

In the education of the colored race nothing can be more important than the educating of teachers themselves. This is being done in an effective way by a summer school for teachers which is carried on in July by the Institute for Colored Youth at Cheyney, Pennsylvania. Last year the attendance and the interest in the courses proved beyond question the need and the demand for the work. Fourteen principals of large schools were among the visitors and students, and from every Southern State except Texas and Florida came representatives. It is told as a significant fact that one-third of the colored schools of Alabama are closed because teachers cannot pass the rigid State examinations. This summer school at Cheyney is intended to make such a condition impossible, and it has become evident that there are hundreds of colored teachers in the colored public schools in the South who are devoted to their work and are willing to make sacrifices to improve their efficiency. Dr. Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, testifies that he has followed the work from the beginning and heartily indorses it. The principal of this colored school is Mr. Hugh M. Browne, who is described by Dr. Washington as one of the strongest and most useful educators of the race. The continuance of these sessions depends largely on the contributions of those interested in the general cause, and $2,000 is needed for the successful prosecution of this year's session. The treasurer is Mr. Walter P. Stokes, 217 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Only 15 Minutes a Day Give me 15 minutes of your time each day, in your own home, by following my simple directions. Just a little care is all you need to make you the ideal woman of your type. Do not say it is impossible, that nature has not given you the first requirements of health and beauty—I know it is possible; I have accomplished it for thousands.

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If you could sit beside me, at my desk, I could, if I would, show you, daily, hundreds of letters from pupils I have helped. I never violate a confidence, never show a letter without permission, but here are a few snatches from one morning's mail:

I wish every nervous teacher could know what benefit is to be derived from your physical culture.
I have lost 73 pounds, and was never better. I look ten years younger.
My constipation and biliousness are entirely relieved.
Just think how I have gained, since I began with you, from 112 to 137½ lbs. in one year.
My catarrh and lungs are much better and my body, which was a bony, crooked structure, is actually beginning to look like your picture of correct poise.
My head is steady, the confused feeling having passed away. It is the best spent money ever used for myself.
Just think, Miss Cocroft, before I took up your work I could not eat anything without the greatest distress, and now I think I could DIGEST TACKS, I am so happy.

How to Stand and Walk Remember, I give you personal instruction, after careful study of your symptoms and condition. Upon request I will send you a booklet showing you how to stand and walk correctly, with a card of correct poise for your dressing table, **free.**

Personal Instruction Besides the Book and poise card, in answer to your first inquiry, is included my personal examination of your symptoms and my first advice to you. Write me fully about your case, also letting me know your faults of figure, etc. I will then make a personal study of your case and will let you know whether I can help you or not. Your letter will be held in strict confidence.

I never publish letters without special permission, though I can send you hundreds of testimonials from women I have helped, who are only too glad to have me show their letters.

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For details about MY PERSONAL INSTRUCTION mark thus (XX) on blank below, opposite the points MOST IMPORTANT in your case and mark thus (X) opposite those which also interest you. If there are any particulars in regard to your case which you feel I should know, write about them fully and I will frankly tell you, without charge, what I can do for you.

Dept. 8.

Too Thin
Round shouldered
Superfluous flesh
Prominent hips
Protruding abdomen
Height
Weight
Do you stand correctly
Thin chest
Thin bust
Thin neck
Complexion
Do you walk gracefully
Weakness
Lame back
Dullness
Irritable
Nerves
Headaches
Catarrh
Dizziness
Indigestion
Constipation
Liver
Kidneys
Lungs
Heart
Throat
Colds
Rheumatism
Circulation
Blood
Is your health or figure imperfect in any way not mentioned here?
Occupation?
What is your age?
Married or single?

Address . . . . . *Name* . . . . . .

Fill out, cut off and mail this blank—NOW!

NOTE.—Miss Cocroft, as President of Physical Culture Extension Work in America, needs no further introduction.

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We know that the phosphate of potash, as presented in certain field grains, has an affinity for albumen and that is the only way gray matter in the brain can be built. It will not answer to take the crude phosphate of potash of the drug shop, for nature rejects it. The elemental mineral must be presented through food directly from Nature's laboratory.

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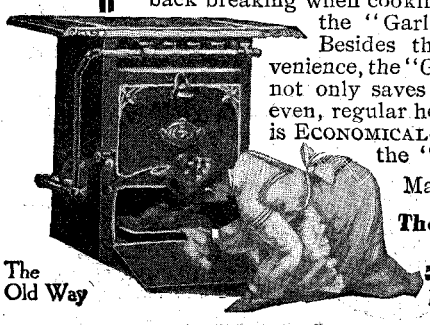

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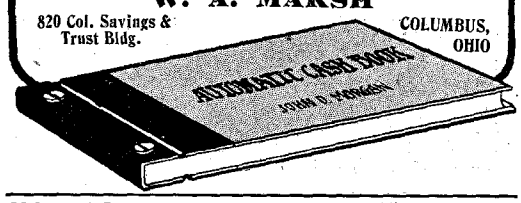

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Sincerely yours, THOS. J. VILLERS.

Weekly terms $12. Couples $20 up. Private bathrooms $5. 9-room cottage, $225 season. References, letters, booklet.
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The New Profile House

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Elegant new Building with every convenience for comfort and health. Over seventy medicinal and other Baths given. Sea water largely used.

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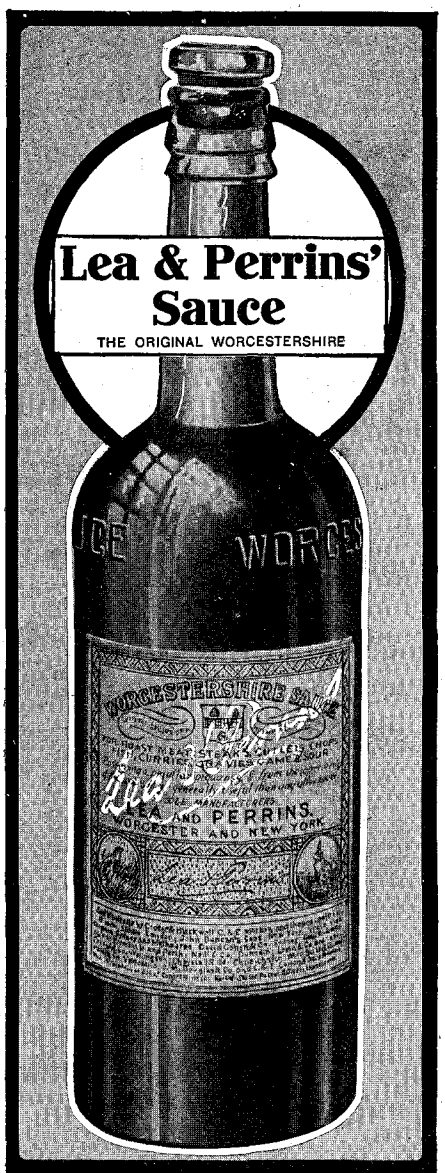

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